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INTRABLOC

GDR, CSSR, Poland Urged To Take Further Steps on Pollution Issue

26000597 Katowice GOSC NIEDZIELNY in Polish
No 29, 17 Jul 88 pp 1, 3

[Article by Janusz Okrzesik: "Cooperation"]

[Text] Not just songs, pollution too knows no boundaries. Smoke, particles, and gases fly calmly without regard for guardhouses and customs barriers. States that manage easily to control the international trips of their citizens cannot control the foreign transfer of their wastes. This problem also applies, perhaps especially applies, to Poland. Our geographical location is very bad. And I am not thinking, Censor, of the so-called geopolitical realities, but only the direction of the prevailing winds, the large-scale contours of the land, etc. All of these things are unfavorable to us. We should add to this industrialized neighbors with non-modern industries that produce great quantities of pollution, and we will have a nearly complete picture of the ecological threats lying in wait for Poland from abroad. As if we did not have enough of our own pollution!

But one cannot be offended by reality. And it is not pleasant. Polish "imports" through the air make up 58 percent of the sulfur compounds in our air. We get two-thirds of these from the GDR and nearly one-third from the CSSR. The percentages say little about the real dangers, so I will add that three-quarters of the Polish forests are under constant or periodic threats, among other things, due to excessive sulfur levels. By the end of the century there will no longer be any firs or spruces in Poland. The forest inspectorates in Swieradow, Szklarska Poreba, and Kotlina Kłodzka, and in the area of the "brown coal" basin near the border of Poland, CSSR, and the GDR will soon cease to exist. Obviously not just because of our neighbors. But it is no accident that the Karkonosze are being denuded of trees most rapidly.

Our boundary with Czechoslovakia is causing the most troubles, at least those about which the public has learned. It is not just a question of the proverbial "mazout rafts" in the border rivers, but about more serious problems. After the serious accident at the methanol plant in the Northern Moravian Celulozka plant in Paskow near Ostrawa, a cloud of highly toxic hydrocarbons floated above the Beskid Slaski. Shortly, the trees in the upper levels of the mountains were decimated. The oldest mountain inhabitants claim the hair on their heads was wiped out. In any case, those immediately concerned, in other words, the inhabitants of the Podbeskidzie, learned of this fact last year, or four years later.

Another border poison that is a great danger to the Beskid forests is the steel mill in Trzyniec in Zaolzie. Located just beyond the border, it does not have to meet the same technological rigors as the industrial plants in

Poland. The Trzyniec mill immediately borders our so-called "Green Silesia" and the "Beskid pearls," the Wisla and the Ustron. The scare quotes are very justified in this case, for it is difficult to call Silesian Cieszyn green, and the health resort Ustron could soon turn out to be a danger to the "cure-takers" visiting it. A direct example of the damaging effects of the mill in Trzyniec is the lake in Wisla-Czarne, whose water is acidic beyond all norms. The forests in the neighboring mountains (800 meters above sea level) are in serious danger.

For a second time, I must protect myself: it would be a great oversimplification to place the source of our troubles with the natural environment only on our neighbors. This could only soothe the consciences of our domestic polluters. Silesia, not the "green" one but the "black" one, is the greatest problem for Polish forests, and the Lenin Steelworks is much more dangerous than the mill in Trzyniec. It is the industry of Polish Silesia that is causing the loss of water from the Beskid. This is the truth. But it is also true that the Czechs are systematically moving their heavy industry, which is most burdensome on the environment, to the border area. Among others, the members of the Polish Ecology Club in Cieszyn wrote about this in their memorandum sent to the CSSR Consulate in Katowice. In their letter, the Cieszyn Polish Ecology Club also touches on the problem of building a coke and chemical plant in Stonaw, obviously near the border. It is to be the largest plant of its type in the CEMA. The Czechs will shift a large portion of the ecological costs of the operation of this giant onto our shoulders across the border.

I am not proposing to prohibit the development of industry in border areas. It is too early for that. I only think that in polluting we can manage by ourselves without "fraternal" help. And if in the near future international cooperation in the area of pollution develops somehow or other, then it will be necessary to pay closer attention to cooperation in the area of environmental protection. Poland is slowly becoming the toilet of Europe. The scale of Polish ecological problems is surpassing our domestic capacity for counteractions. But, parodying the political maxim: without a clean Poland, there can be no clean Europe. In some countries, this is already understood; for example, the Swedes and Dutch have offered their participation in protecting the environment in Poland. We cannot demand that the Czech and Slovak authorities help us, but we can demand that they not harm us, that we not have to pay the bill for their wastes.

Unfortunately, ecology is no longer the play toy of inspired visionaries. Ecology is a sufficiently important problem that sooner or later it will become the subject of high politics, including international politics. The peculiar location of our country will force the state authorities into action in this area. Recently, a trilateral conference of representatives of Poland, CSSR, and the GDR on the problems of ecological cooperation ended in Ksiaz. The next round of talks are planned for September. The most

important issues remaining, in my opinion, are investments in the border areas and the emission of heavy metal compounds which cause tremendous damage to the soil and trees. Can something be accomplished through these talks? Let's hope so. Perhaps the first, not the least important result of beginning these talks, will be breaking down the barriers of silence around these issues. No such barrier will halt the particles and gases.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPCZ Leading Secretary Vaclav Vaclavik Reports to North Moravian Conference

24000124 Ostrava NOVA SVOBODA in Czech
16 May 88 p 3

[Speech of Vaclav Vaclavik, Secretary of North Moravian Kraj Committee, CPCZ, at Kraj Party Conference]

[Text] If we look back at the 2 days of our deliberations we can all be satisfied with their progress. They were marked by an efficient working character; all of you took part in a responsible manner for which comradesly gratitude is extended.

The reports and discussions confirmed that our kraj party organization is prepared to carry out the resolutions of the Seventh and Ninth sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee for restructuring and that we have a concrete program of forms and methods by which we plan to achieve fulfillment of the resolutions of the 17th CPCZ Congress. Suggestions, proposals and critical comments which came up during the discussions will be further utilized in the work of the kraj party committee. We can say that the kraj conference fulfilled its mission. Our deliberations confirmed that the communists of the North Moravian Kraj are fully aware of the importance of the period which awaits us.

We are entering into a challenging period of leadership by the ideologically and organizationally united Marxist-Leninist Party tempered by class struggles and while carrying out the demanding tasks of building socialism. I am convinced that we will take up the work of restructuring with the same revolutionary fervor with which the communists won out in February 1948, with which they approached the tasks of collectivization and industrialization, and with which they overcame the consequences of the political-social crisis of 1968-69. Our conditions for fulfilling the task are good—a developed working class, agriculture and a creative educated class. In the region we have an army of more than 200,000 communists. That is a great national force which must be fully mobilized.

The key to restructuring lies in our cadres. We must appreciate them but we must give them great challenges. The person entrusted by the party with management of a

working collective in an enterprise, a factory, an operation, a workshop, a unified agricultural cooperative or an institution must exhibit fervor and devotion in carrying out the tasks of restructuring. Whoever does not demonstrate this zeal, who does not prove by actions his devotion to party matters may not take the lead, whether it is a working collective or party office or organization. In the process of restructuring a fundamental requirement of all cadre work is that leading positions be filled by the most capable persons, the ones best prepared professionally and politically and with proper ethical qualities. Cadre work must be further democratized. An important component of party efforts to develop social democracy in our society is the need to consider management of senior officials, using the possibility of secret voting in the party, selecting from a larger number of candidates but also having senior officials take into account not only suitable officials but also basic members, working collectives and the voters.

A facet of party work which we must also change is the need to put political leadership in the forefront, not displacing national offices, economic management or agencies of the National Front. To begin with, we must learn political leadership. That means first of all, ridding party work of unnecessary administrative, paper work, unproductive conferences, various campaigns and taking people from work for no good reasons. The aim of the party is to work with people, among people, get to know the mood of the people and situations at places of work. That means concentrating even more attention on basic party organizations where the decisions on carrying out the goals are made. And it is here that one must struggle with honest persons against idlers, loafers and various anticommunist elements.

Restructuring requires that we create a new socio-political atmosphere. It must be an atmosphere of openness, integrity, criticism of shortcomings and their perpetrators. Criticism, however, does not mean anarchy. Its aim must be constructive resolution of accumulated problems; it is necessary to arouse consciences, initiatives and people's involvement. This will not be a painless process. Each one of us must give up the habits which were deep-rooted through years of extensive development and administrative management. But there is no other way. Restructuring is not a magic wand. It is the means to carry out the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress and the Eighth 5-Year Plan, to accelerate our social and economic development.

Dear comrades, I thank you in the name of the newly-elected kraj committee of the party for your confidence and I assure you that the kraj committee will draw on the results of the preceding period and will further intensify the effectiveness of its work. On your behalf I would like to sincerely thank those men and women comrades who actively participated in the past period in the CPCZ Kraj Committee and the CPCZ Sm [North Moravian] KKRK, especially to Comrades Frantisek Skacel, Karel Matl, Rudolf Peska and Alena Pagacova who were

members of the presidium for many long years. Similar thanks are also due to Comrades Rudolf Osanec, Josef Krepelka and Oldrich Blazek who for several electoral periods were active members of CPCZ Sm Kraj Committee.

I thank the delegates of the party central committee, especially Comrade Josef Kempny for his active participation in our deliberations. At the same time I ask members of the delegation to express thanks to the party central committee for its support and concern for the development of the North Moravian Kraj. At the same time we assure the party central committee that the communists of our kraj will exert all their efforts to carry out the resolutions of its Seventh and Ninth sessions. Surely you will agree with me that in all our names we also thank all the political workers, organizers and employees of the House of Culture of the ROH [Revolutionary Trade Union Movement] of VZSKG and the Ostrava Restaurant Enterprise and the organizers and workers of the communications center for their considerable part in the participation and successful course of our 2-day deliberations.

I am concluding the deliberations of the Kraj Conference of the CPCZ with the conviction that the resolutions which we adopted today will be brought to life especially in the basic party organizations and that the forthcoming period will signal further social and economic development in our North Moravian kraj in fulfilling the resolutions of the 17th CPCZ Congress. Dear comrades, I turn to you with the appeal that you do all you can at your work sites and in your working collectives to help carry out the resolution which we adopted today. To that end I wish you much good health, energy and creative vigor. Honor to our collective work!

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Leading CPSL Secretary Michal Spak Reports to East Slovakia Conference

24000122 Kosice VYCHODOSLOVENSKE NOVINY in Slovak 16 May 88 pp 4-6

[Speech by Michal Spak, member of the Central Committee of the CPCZ and leading secretary of the East Slovakia Kraj Committee of the CPSL, made to the kraj CPSL Conference at Kosice and reporting on the results of the work done by the kraj organization in fulfilling the resolutions adopted by the 17th Congress of the CPCZ]

[Text]

Honored delegates, comrades, dear guests:

The kraj conference is being held at a time of increased mobilization of the people to perform demanding tasks involved in the acceleration of the socioeconomic development of our socialist society. Our goal is to critically and demandingly evaluate work which has been done hitherto, and look at the results achieved since the 17th

Congress of the CPCZ and to set specific and realistic tasks for the kraj organizations for the next period. The principal directions and paths for our further advancement were set by the 17th Congress of the CPCZ and by the Congress of the CPSL. The conclusions of these congresses were worked out into a comprehensive and clear program by the seventh and ninth sessions of the Central Committee of the CPCZ, with emphasis on the consistent progress of restructuring and democratization and by subsequent meetings. We have ample experiences and forces in the kraj organization to permit us to realize the new tasks successfully. In this effort we look at the example of the pioneering and resolute progress made by Soviet Communists which is encountering broad support among our working people. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and all our people support the Leninist peace policy which gives mankind the hope of a peaceful life and of the creation of conditions for peaceful coexistence between countries and nations having different social orders.

The current period, as was demonstrated by the results of the annual membership meetings of the party, of enterprise and okres conferences, opens up room for the wide development of creative forces in our kraj organization. The course of the conferences was constructively influenced by the conclusions of the seventh and ninth sessions of the Central Committee of the CPCZ. On the basis of substantive and critical analyses, the conferences embarked upon further progress in accelerating the socioeconomic development—even though the demanding nature of this venture was differentiated. We are happy that views, proposals, and suggestions were heard as to what to do under local conditions to develop socialist democracy, to speed up the application of the findings of science and technology in practice, to lower material and energy costs in production, how to make sure that intraenterprise cost accounting (khozraschet) is systematically applied at all work sites. It is and will be our task as well to consistently uncover reserves, check whether the quality of products is being maintained, check on how the introduction of robotization and automation is being introduced, check why the increase in shift work is not succeeding, and consistently utilize available working time. The current period demands new approaches in party work. Particular attention must be devoted to party organizations in enterprises and plants where planned tasks are not being fulfilled, despite all efforts. The reason for this unfavorable situation is, generally, ineffective management and organizational work, but also the indecision of managers and, frequently, efforts to justify and cover up shortcomings. We expect a turnaround in the work of all, particularly of those who have hitherto waited on the sidelines, those for whom superficiality, lack of principles, and unhealthy subjectivism have become part and parcel of everyday management work. In this connection we wish to stress that the party, every Communist, must consider all tasks of restructuring as his own priority. We must all personally commit ourselves to the fulfillment of these tasks and to the recruitment of others to do so. This

requires the implementation of a change in the style and method of work while deepening the leading role of the party in the life of our society.

Today's conditions require all party members to stand at the head of the effort to achieve the comprehensive restructuring of our social life. It is the task of Communists to organize, lead, serve as an example in the struggle for everything that is new in work and in all of life. They must clarify controversial questions, accept the views of another, think about them, and fully utilize that which is rational in these views—all of this is part of the foundation of the contemporary work of Communists.

A lack of compromise, honesty, rectitude, must characterize Communists today more than ever. The promotion of changes in the material and intellectual sphere is connected with the development of intraparty democracy. It is the duty of kraj and okres party organs and organizations to lead their members toward active participation in collectives, toward implementing the policy of restructuring under their own conditions. This means seeing to it that everyone can openly express his views at meetings and in discussions and can actively participate in the work of his organization. Okres party committees must assign specific tasks to basic organizations and require every Communist, irrespective of his function, to consistently give stewardship reports before the party collective. Our permanent assignment is to develop criticism and self-criticism, to make sure that the party has a clean shield. Party discipline must be applicable to all members of the party equally. We know that our duty is to eliminate injustice as rapidly as possible, to eliminate dishonesty, careerism, and haughtiness—phenomena which have not completely disappeared from our society. We must apply an open policy. Critical evaluations must be specific and should result in a self-critical position adopted by Communists.

The conscience of Communists must firmly anchor a feeling of personal responsibility for restructuring, but also the knowledge that the individual also contributes to restructuring by his actions. The party has high requirements today regarding the work of members and candidate members of the party. They are dictated by the nature and difficulty of the tasks we face and which can truly be called revolutionary. They are comparable with the postwar effort of the party to establish socialism in our state. Today, however, this is a matter of achieving a qualitatively higher step of development with respect to socialist society. Just as was the case then, Communists today have a specific right in this effort, but also a duty—to stand at the head of events. To determine their direction. These thoughts were expressed by the ninth session of the Central Committee of the CPCZ. In the report of the Presidium, Comrade Jakes, among others, stated that "the main motive force of restructuring is and must be the party." The successful fulfillment of restructuring tasks is highly demanding and requires that results of work up to now be judged with objectivity.

In today's evaluation of what has been achieved, it is our duty to confront our intentions and goals in detail with the results, with the objective requirements, and with what we have been able to achieve with the full utilization of the human factor and of material resources. The evaluating written report, which you have received, presents a detailed overview of the effort over the last 2 years on the part of the party organs, organizations, national committees community organizations of the National Front, and of our workers.

High Demands Placed Upon Members and Candidate Members of the Party

The numbers and facts show successes, problems, but also shortcomings and reserves which we have not successfully utilized in the kraj. However, positive results predominate and form the prerequisites for the fulfillment of new tasks, for the realization of which the kraj party organization is responsible. It is made up of 123,454 members and candidate members of the CPCZ. This is 3,981 members more than was the case 2 years ago. Currently, on average, every sixth economically active citizen is a member of the CPCZ, every seventh economically active worker, every seventh member and employee of a unified agricultural cooperative, every fourth member of the intelligentsia, and every eighth member of other groups. The Marxist-Leninist character of the kraj organization is attested to by the fact that 53.9 percent of the membership base is made up of workers and cooperative farmers.

Since the 17th Congress of the CPCZ, we have selected, trained, and accepted 8,302 candidates for membership in the party. However, we were unsuccessful in fulfilling our intention with respect to accepting women for party membership.

The numbers of members in the kraj party organization represent a considerable strength, although not all members and candidate members of the CPCZ are actual fighters for party policies. This is confirmed by the fact that since the 17th Congress of the CPCZ the party in the kraj imposed 2,533 party punishments, including expulsion. Some 5.5 percent of the candidates for party membership were struck off the rolls.

Despite positive developments in improving the quality of the membership base which give us joy and which place us among the leading kraj party organizations, many problems persist. The primary criterion for raising the quality of the membership base, as was stressed by the ninth session of the Central Committee of the CPCZ, is the strengthening of the revolutionary character of the party, the strengthening of the worker corps, raising the action capability of the organization and the activities of all Communists. We must connect the further formation of the membership base for the kraj organization with solutions of decisive tasks, we must subject it to the

demands of restructuring, to the demands of the intensification of the economy and the implementation of the results of scientific-technical development.

It is equally necessary to raise the level of care for the party shield, for the good name of Communists. We will not tolerate violations of the party statutes and will call everyone to account for failure to fulfill party resolutions, membership obligations, for suppressing criticism, and for covering up illegal actions.

In no event is it possible to tolerate a violation of the law by Communists. We must consistently work with the Letier of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPCZ calling for party organs and organizations to stand at the head of the struggle against negative manifestations, for the creation of public opinion, against all manifestations of violations of socialist morality and legality.

Appropriate the Political Methods of Leadership and Management

Comrades!

Okres committees, their elected organs, their apparatus, and their party activists have an irreplaceable role to play in management. On them, the level of and efficiency of party political work often depends. In this regard, the okres and local committees of the CPSL in Kosice performed a good piece of self-sacrificial and brave work, along with their apparatuses, for which we express our thanks at today's conference. There continues to be something to perfect, particularly with respect to differentiated direction for basic organizations, in the rendering of more effective assistance, in introducing new but primarily effective forms and methods of work.

In our activities, we are devoting permanent attention to membership and public meetings of the party. The majority of the basic organizations have developed good conditions and a favorable atmosphere for substantive and constructive handling of problems. Unfortunately, some proceedings at membership meetings quite often remind one of production conferences. The topical and decisive problems involved in implementing the policy of the party are not always on the agenda. The reports lack the necessary quality, they are frequently formal and self-serving in nature. Such an approach does not assure the consistent provision of stewardship reports pertaining to the fulfillment of party resolutions.

In party work, we have begun to point out various shortcomings more frequently and more specifically. The majority of the basic organizations of the CPSL in East Slovakia Kraj are dealing responsibly with the tasks of restructuring. We value the commitment of the work of Communists at the VSZ, the CSD, the ZPA at Presov, and at the Chemosvite Enterprise at Poprad, at the Chemlone at Humenne, at the construction enterprise at

Presov, at the KERK Enterprise at Kosice, and elsewhere. But many organizations have thus far not rid themselves of stereotypes, they have not proven able to change the style of their work. This means that the conclusions of the seventh and ninth sessions of the Central Committee of the CPCZ have not yet penetrated into the life and work of our organizations. More efforts to eliminate surviving shortcomings and problems and to increase the level of party work must be exerted by the basic organizations at the Bukoza Plant at Vranov, at the Strojsmalt Plant at Medzev, at the brick kiln, at the Elektromont Plant at Kosice, in the enterprises of the woodworking and cellulose-paper industry, in the flour mills and pastry plant at Kosice, at the unified agricultural cooperatives at Plesivec, Leles, Palota, and others.

In judging the style of work performed by party organizations and organs in presidiums and at sessions of the East Slovakia Kraj Committee of the CPSL, it was found that many are slow in adopting political methods of leadership and management. The application of the leading role and the right of control require that party political leadership not be confused with specific management which takes place in state and economic organs. These are different activities—their interchange cannot be permitted.

Critical point-of-departure analysis is the inevitable condition for deep knowledge and forms the basis for increasing the management activities of party committees. Everywhere, basic organizations must become the actual political core of the working collectives and strengthen their influence upon all aspects of life. This requirement was reflected in the proceedings of the VCS, where Communists expressed their full support for the domestic and foreign policy of the Communist Party, oriented toward speeding up socioeconomic development in Czechoslovakia and the comprehensive restructuring of society. For most of these units, a higher degree of organization and a higher idealistic level was characteristic and was contributed to by a more collective mode of preparing for these meetings.

Basic organizations, active in the economic sphere, took a hard look at questions connected with clarifying and the specific realization of restructuring the economic mechanism. Individual meetings confirmed that our kraj party organization is ideologically, organizationally, and action-wise united and that it is a firm component of the CPCZ.

In conjunction with the high demands placed upon the activities of party organs, higher requirements are also levied upon the work of the party apparatus which contributed significantly up to now to task fulfillment by elected officials at the level of okres committees, as well as at the kraj committee level.

In the spirit of the ninth session of the Central Committee of the CPCZ, we shall require workers of the apparatus to become deeply familiar with the essence of the current political course, to be in living contact with party organizations and worker collectives, so that they will get to know the situation and the cadres in their own sectors. Every worker of the apparatus should know the art of judging people, of learning from them, of serving as an example of self-sacrifice and principledness.

Comrades!

Successful development of the national economy requires all-round quality improvement in cadre work as one of the basic prerequisites for fulfilling the strategic party line. In the spirit of congress resolutions, we must make sure that management functions at all levels are handled by highly qualified people with theoretical and practical training with a commensurate political approach toward task fulfillment, by people who have good organizational, moral, and character capabilities. These must be people who are capable of working under new conditions, people who have gathered natural authority and confidence in their working collectives and are irreconcilable with respect to shortcomings and average performance.

The present situation shows us that the degree of training enjoyed by our cadres is still not commensurate with the requirements of work in the individual areas of kraj development. The kraj committee as well as the lower kraj organs effected many cadre changes during the period which has passed precisely where tasks were not being fulfilled for a long time, where the management process was not adequately mastered, as well as where serious moral or character inadequacies occurred. Life has convinced us, and the results of our work have confirmed it, that these changes were necessary and inevitable. Everyone must realize that appointment to a function is accompanied by the high confidence of the party and that the appointee takes on great responsibilities. The decisive criteria for evaluating cadres must become the actual result of the work of each individual.

Even under the conditions of restructuring, cadre work remains as one of the true political instruments through which party organizations implement their leading role. In selecting cadres, we shall apply democratic principles and we wish to base our selection more on the views of working collectives. It is necessary to be prepared for the conditions of electability and of the competitive selection of cadres. Through their political influence, party organizations must more expressly influence the selection and election of the most suitable candidates. Permanent attention must be devoted to a healthy rotation of officials and the creation of still better conditions for the selection and training of managers from the ranks of women, young people, and to respect the nationalities composition of our kraj. Similarly, it is necessary to contemplate how existing cadre practices can be

improved in proposing several candidates for management functions. The implementation of elections pertaining to enterprise managers and organs of self-administration is part and parcel of the deepening of socialist democracy and calls for fundamental changes in existing forms of work, while still fully respecting the leading role of the party.

Comrades!

In the process of developing socialist democracy and restructuring social relationships, the tasks of the National Front are further increased. Restructuring requires the National Front to make maximum contributions to the development of activity and creative initiative among people and to promote their participation in the administration and direction of society.

In realizing these tasks, we emphasize the positive results which we have achieved in the work of the National Front in our kraj. We realize that new roles require the elimination of many shortcomings which persist in the work of organizations affiliated in the National Front. This is primarily a matter of better utilization of the opportunities for citizens to participate in the administration and direction, of eliminating formalism in their activities, of dismantling administrative methods of work.

We are at the beginning of restructuring the activities of organs and organizations of the National Front, activities which are beginning to be realized under the leadership of the kraj committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia on the basis of resolutions adopted by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPCZ. Our findings show that such activity must be more elastically pursued and that organizations should not merely wait for directives from the kraj committee.

During the period of restructuring the economic mechanism and of revolutionary changes in the life of society, the trade union movement will take on unprecedented dimensions. We value the work of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement in developing the initiative of working people.

Positive changes have occurred in the movement of socialist brigade work and in the work of comprehensive standardization brigades. We similarly value the innovator movement. Last year this movement contributed more than Kcs 540 million to the economy.

We wish to recognize the work of our innovators, improvers, collectives operating under the brigade system of work under the leadership of Marie Mudra from the OZKN at Presov, the crew under the leadership of Ervin Oravec from the rolling stock plant at Poprad, the crew of Miroslav Fiser from the Chemosvit Plant at Svit, the crew of Frantisek Karlovsky from the iron ore mines at Rudnany, the crew of Jozef Chom from the VSZ, the crew of Milan Licka from the Tesla Plant at Stropkov,

the crew of Imrich Salata from the equipment and automation plant at Presov, the crew of Milos Ondrej from the VSZ, the crew of Jozef Palsa from the construction enterprise at Presov, the crew of Jan Micuda from the construction enterprise at Poprad, the crew of Milan Vatrál from the metallurgical construction enterprise at Kosice, and others who, by their courageous work serve as examples in the fulfillment of tasks at their work sites. How to apply progressive forms for the expansion of working initiative was demonstrated for us by the joint comprehensive standardization brigade, composed of workers from the VUKOV, the ZTS from Kosice and Prakovce which, under the leadership of Comrades Kutlik and Celuch resolved the task of using groups of robotized complexes at the heavy machine tool enterprise at Prakovce. For this accomplishment, the brigade was awarded the "Antonín Zapotocký" Prize for 1987.

The trade unions also contributed significantly to recruiting workers for the application of the brigade form of work and remuneration. This progressive method is used today by 1,882 collectives having more than 58,000 members. But even the trade union movement has problems and shortcomings. Many trade union officials temporize, are slow to seek a new content for their activities. We require Communists in the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement to more resolutely recruit workers for the fulfillment of planned tasks and to make better use of working time. They must make a still better contribution to the reduction of material costs, to raising the quality of products, the productivity of labor, and the efficiency of the production process. A permanent task is the promotion of justified needs, interests, and rights of the workers.

Recruiting Young People for the Goals of Restructuring

An important place in the process of preparing the young generation for life and for work is occupied by the Socialist Union of Youth. We value the fact that the majority of young people connect the solutions of their problems, their long-range prospects with the development of socialism. We also value the fact that young people are taking an active part in realizing the program of the CPCZ. However, it is important for us to recruit them for the goals of restructuring. Consequently, we expect greater initiative of party, state, and social organs or organizations in their work with youth. It is understandable that the youth organization should more effectively promote the justified interests of young people, act as a real school for the political and social activities of young people. It should inspire them to implement the results of scientific and technical progress, prepare them to defend the country, and to fulfill the demanding goals of the 17th Congress of the CPCZ. In the area of educating the young generation, a significant role is played by physical training and sports. We value an increase in the mass character of our physical education, we value the successes of kraj sportsmen in national competitions, successes which are achieved by many collectives headed by the ice hockey players from the

East Slovak Iron Works and by many individuals. However, we must sharply criticize the situation in East Slovakian soccer. Our physical training units have a sufficient number of problems awaiting solution. Their successful solution requires higher quality in management work, more vigor, more enthusiasm, and more sports-type forethought.

The results about which we speak today were shared in also by other organizations affiliated in the National Front. Our thanks belong to all their active members.

Through its responsible political leadership, by deepening the democratic character of the National Front organizations, the kraj committee is creating favorable conditions for the participation of workers and young people in the administration and control of public affairs.

In this process, the national committees play a key role. We value the fact that, particularly following the sixth session of the Central Committee of the CPCZ, they performed a goodly piece of brave work. This was positively manifested in the development of the kraj economy. Positive changes occurred in the expansion of local production and services, in transportation, commerce, education, culture, health care, and in the social sphere.

Nevertheless, many tasks set by the kraj conference of the CPSL are being fulfilled slowly and inconsistently. Available services are not commensurate with the needs of the citizens in terms of quality, affordability, and timeliness. There are shortcomings in repairs, reconstruction, and maintenance of housing. Problems persist in mass transportation, in the culture of traveling, in services, commerce, public catering, as well as in health services, education, and in the social area. The quality of bread, of bakery products, meat and dairy products, inadequate supply of potatoes and vegetables, the cleanliness of our towns and communities, the protection of the environment, and the specific improvement in health services is fully within our capabilities without extraordinary financial expenditures and limits. This requires good organizational and management work as well as a lack of tolerance [of misdeeds].

A critical situation exists in comprehensive housing construction where, for the time being, we are not able to harmonize housing construction with technical and sanitation facilities.

Proceed Offensively Against Old Thinking

Communists in national committees must be the carriers of a more offensive way of solving key problems which touch upon the everyday life of people. All tasks, but also all problems and shortcomings, must be consistently and responsibly solved at plenary sessions and in the councils of national committees. Strict conclusions must be drawn from the lack of task fulfillment and the lack of

implementation of resolutions. It is necessary to prepare more thoroughly for handling the economic and legal instruments of management, for the realization of restructuring the economic mechanism, it is necessary to create optimum conditions in national committees for the strengthening of their economic base and independent activities.

Delegates, elected officials, the apparatus, and the managed economy must solve problems much more effectively and in an aggressive manner. Particularly the leading officials of national committees in the kraj must bear the responsibility for the fulfillment of these demanding tasks.

The acceleration of socialist and economic development is unthinkable without strengthened socialist legality, morality, discipline, and the increased protection of socialist property.

Economic managers are responsible for maintaining law and public order, but so are organs of the National Security Corps, the prosecutors, and the judicial system which have accounted for much that is positive. They deserve our thanks for this. However, we are disturbed by the fact that, particularly with regard to protecting the economy, there has not been a more fundamental turnaround. Economic criminality causes us annual material damage valued at an average of Kcs 10 million. However, we cannot be satisfied with the fact that problems in suppressing recidivism, alcoholism, and criminality still persist.

We value positively the results in the area of military-defense policy enunciated by the CPCZ and the assistance received from members of the Czechoslovak People's Army by our national economy. We will contribute toward seeing to it that all members of the Czechoslovak People's Army enjoy conditions for universal political and specialized training to guarantee the reliable defense of socialism and of the peaceful life of our people.

Honored comrades!

Ideological work has a decisive place in raising the action capability of the kraj party organization, in accomplishing the strategic acceleration of socioeconomic development, of restructuring the economic mechanism, of deepening socialist democracy, and raising the level of public information.

We all realize that the changes which are taking place in our economic and political life have a direct bearing on the conscience and psychology of people, their interests, their position in society, and exert an influence upon their actions.

All facilities involved in our ideological work must generalize the best experiences gathered in the practical progress made in restructuring the economic mechanism which have been gathered in our kraj from enterprises involved in the experiment.

We realize that not everyone agrees with restructuring and we also realize that any propaganda, which has its own interpretation of the restructuring and democratization in Czechoslovakia, in the Soviet Union, and in other socialist countries, is increasing its activities. It is attempting to sow in the conscience of people an analogy with the crisis years of 1968-1969 and misuse the democratization of society to form opposition groups against socialism, to precipitate a lack of confidence vis-a-vis the party, to undermine the unity of its ranks. In this direction, efforts are being made to misuse all manner of things, including the religious feelings of worshippers.

We stand for good relations with believers and will continue to create conditions to facilitate their religious life; but we will not permit the abuse of religious feelings for antisocial goals, for the disruption of public order. Our people put a definitive end to political clericalism during the Slovak National Uprising. In the struggle against it, the people made great sacrifices. This commits us to resist the posthumous pressures of Slovak clerofascism at home and abroad.

Despite positive values that have been achieved, our experiences show that the level of ideological work is not commensurate to current needs. There is not always sufficient aggressiveness and effective work in the struggle against old thinking and routinism. We are not successful in influencing public opinion and in recruiting all to take an active part in fulfilling tasks to the extent necessary. Ideological work is often perceived as a matter for the ideological activist and not as a matter for every member and candidate member of the party. Technocratic approaches frequently persist, particularly among economic managers, and educational work involving people is often underestimated.

Party organs and organizations in the kraj must do more to achieve closer unity between education and training and life, to see to it that party training and ideological-educational work provide a stimulus for activity and initiative.

We value the activities of the ideological activist in the kraj, work done in the okreses and in the basic organizations of the CPSL. A positive example is the work done by the comrades of the House of Political Education in the Okres Committee of the CPSL at Vranov who built a methodological classroom to teach scientific atheism. For some time now, the House of Political Education at Spisska Nova Ves has acted as a pioneer in the teaching of theory and development of the party. Comrades in the House of Political Training at Presov have been working successfully with audiovisual equipment. The level of work in the House of Political

Training at Michalovce, at Kosice, and the work of the Department of Political Education in the Enterprise Committee of the CPSL at the East Slovakia steel mills, at the CZV of the CPSL in the Chemlon Enterprise at Humenne, at the metallurgical construction company, etc., stands at a good level.

Comrades!

Every time the party has been involved in solving complicated problems, it has considered daily contact with the masses of workers to be of utmost importance.

Experience shows that only such an approach resulted in successful solutions of all complicated problems. We must apply this experience also during the current demanding era. It is our goal to see to it that entire working collectives understand the principles of restructuring the economic mechanism. Experiences gathered in the experimenting enterprises, but also elsewhere, show that mass political work and economic propaganda are successful when a transition is made from general exhortations toward clarification of specific tasks; where an open dialogue is conducted which results in resolving the day-to-day concerns of working collectives.

That is precisely why we must make better use of positive experiences which we have in the kraj involving the development of intraenterprise cost accounting and with the application of brigade forms of organizational work and remuneration at the chemical plant at Strazske, at the Chemlon Plant at Humenne, at the KERKU facility, at the unified agricultural cooperative at Kvakovce, but also in many other enterprises and plants of the kraj.

Comrades!

The mass information media—our press, radio, and television—play a very useful and necessary role in creating a good political climate in the implementation of the goals of party policy.

The kraj party committee values the fact that Communists in the editorial collective of VYCHODOSLOVENSKÉ NOVINY and elsewhere not only worked out long-term conceptual intentions for implementing restructuring in our society during the course of fulfilling the program of the 17th Congress of the CPCZ, but are skillfully beginning to fulfill this program.

We expect workers in the press, radio, and television to demonstrate still more journalistic mastery, more revolutionism, more lack of compromise, more constructive criticism of everything which hampers our advances.

Growth in education and qualification is one of the fundamental prerequisites for increasing the role played by the human factor in the development of society. Education is becoming a lifelong process. In comparison with the past, better results in the education of students

to become independent, to engage in creative and logical thinking, were achieved. The working and political-technical profile of schools was deepened. Nevertheless, basic education continues to suffer from some shortcomings in the education-training process. In the kraj, the educational system has serious concerns involving students of Gypsy origin, involving the raising of their level of knowledge, and regarding the effectiveness of educational work.

In the middle schools, the level of intellectual cognitive education has increased, but the overall level of world-view education, political education, moral education, esthetic education, and physical training has improved only a little. We see serious reserves in simplifying the educational functions of the school and the family.

Education—A Lifelong Process

In implementing the educational policy of the party, the teacher is the key personality. We must do everything to give the teacher sufficient room to work in the school, to conduct scientific research activity, to see to his own quality training, to engage in extracurricular work involving students and pupils. It is necessary to make better use of the right of control which basic organizations of the CPSL functioning in education have, in conjunction with the resolutions of the 17th Congress of the CPCZ.

We are disturbed by the constantly declining percentage of teachers who are members of the CPCZ, particularly in basic and middle school education. The lowest party membership (11 percent) in the basic education system exists in the Okres of Poprad and fewer than 15 percent of the teachers are party members in the okreses of Spisska Nova Ves and Presov. The number of teachers who are party members in Kosice, in Michalovce, and in Vranov is also gradually declining.

The advanced schools are an important link in our education system. In the kraj, more than 12,000 students are studying at advanced schools on a daily basis and 11,000 are taking correspondence courses. A highly educated active of teachers is operating at the advanced schools, some 50 percent of whom are members and candidate members of the party. We are distressed, however, that a portion of the advanced school graduates do not demonstrate the requisite political specialized and moral qualities in practice. The causes for this status are based in the low degree of effectiveness of ideological-educational work and in the inadequate connection between advanced school study and actual employment and in the unsatisfactory status of individual contacts between the teacher and the students. All of this points to reserves which must be systematically eliminated in the work of Communists operating at advanced schools.

We require all advanced schools, individual faculties to act more effectively in promoting scientific-technical progress, in popularizing the most recent findings of

science, so as to bring about a still more effective and purposeful interconnection between our advanced schools and practical employment.

This requires the Ministry of Education and the national committees to effect a more conceptual solution of the question of expanding the material-technical base. We value the implementation of the program of electronization, but we are not satisfied with the level of physical training. Up to 50 percent of the fully organized basic and middle schools and training centers do not have a gymnasium. Throughout the kraj, schools only have nine swimming pools. Covered swimming pools do not exist in the okreses of Stara Dubovna, Svidnik, Vranov, Roznava, and Kosice-rural. Not a single swimming pool exists in the okreses of Humenne and Michalovce. A similarly pressing question involves the modernization and innovation of mechanical equipment, laboratories, and training shops, both at advanced schools and at middle schools and training centers.

A significant component of the entire field of impacting on broad strata of the population is the area of culture, which has an immediate and great influence upon the creative and purposeful work of people.

In years past, we have achieved additional successes in the development of socialist culture. We value the self-sacrificial work performed by those comrades who work unselfishly in circles of artistic activity, in civic affairs groups, in popular libraries, in the defense and creation of the environment, and are engaged in the protection of historic monuments and in the sphere of professional culture and art.

During the past 5-year plan, a radical acceleration took place in the restoration of cultural monuments. Significant progress was made in the work at the municipal monument reservation at Kosice, but also at Levoc and Presov.

The valued international award—the UNESCO Gold Medal—was awarded to the comrades taking care of the monument reservation at Bardejov. We value new literary works, as well as the creative graphic work done by our artists.

However, the negative manifestations which we are encountering show that we must use more attractive forms of work in our efforts to develop the process of socialist culture. In this direction, we expect the national committees and cultural-enlightenment facilities to demonstrate more initiative, more tenaciousness of purpose, and more consistency. We must focus on the creation of a new socialist morality and a new socialist way of life.

Increasing Efficiency and Effectiveness

Increases in the efficiency and effectiveness of the national economy stand in the center of attention of the kraj party organization. We wish to accomplish this

through a growth in the quality of products and the restructuring of the economic mechanism. These are also the intentions of the resolutions adopted by the kraj committee of the CPSL. At its sessions, the Presidium and the commissions regularly evaluated the fulfillment of economic tasks, sought points of departure, and mobilized people toward their fulfillment. This political organizational, educational, and cadre work of the party was positively reflected in the development of the kraj economy. During the past 2 years of the 8th Five-Year Plan, industrial and construction enterprises in the kraj fulfilled and exceeded the indicators involved in the creation of material resources, as well as the planned increment in production. In conjunction with the line expressed by the 17th Congress of the CPCZ, net production and profitability rose, the material intensity and energy intensiveness of this production declined. Through the development of the economy in the kraj, we also supported tasks in the social area. We provided almost 17,000 apartments and the material-technical base of transportation, commerce, education, and health services improved substantially. Every year, the volume of profit rose but two-thirds of these profits were created via the extensive way of operating. Other problems hampering a higher degree of efficiency are concentrated primarily in the cost area. Even though the plan for rendering the production process more economical is being fulfilled, the pace of reducing material and energy inputs is lagging behind the targets set by the kraj conference. More than half of the enterprises exceeded the planned material intensity of their production. The largest violations occurred in the East Slovakia breweries, the Slavosov paper mills, the cellulose plant at Gemerska Horka, the Strojmonte-Prefe Enterprise at Kosice, at the construction enterprise at Michalovce, and at the Tatralana Enterprise at Kezmarok.

In evaluating the results of the previous time frame, our thanks belong to the work done by Communists and by the entire working collective at the East Slovakia steel mills, at the Chemka Plant at Strazske, at the OZKN at Presov, at the KERKU Plant at Kosice, at the equipment and automation plants at Presov, at the Vihorlat Plant at Snina, at the Slovak magnesite plants at Kosice, at the East Slovakia Power Plant at Kosice, at the Engineering and Metallurgical Construction Plant at Kosice, and others.

On the other hand, the results achieved by a number of enterprises in the kraj during the first 2 years do not reflect the intentions of the 17th Congress of the CPCZ, nor those of our kraj party conference. Problems persist at the Bukoza Plant at Vranov, at the Slavosov paper mills, at the Tatralana Enterprise at Kezmarok, at the Slovak electrotechnical plants at Krompachy, at the East Slovakia brick kilns, at the construction enterprise in Michalovce, and at some other enterprises.

We drew attention to the fact that we, in the kraj, failed to deal with the problems involved in the growth of efficiency and the quality of products, in the problems of

material-technical supplies, in fulfilling substantive tasks involved in capital construction, in the area of economizing wood supplies, and in the evenness of production as early as the kraj party committee meeting of January.

Do Not Justify Shortcomings by Blaming Objective Causes

Comrades!

It is not possible to endlessly justify shortcomings by citing objective reasons. Our findings show that the predominant majority of problems are subjective in character and stem from inadequate discipline and a low level of management. Consequently, it is inevitable for all party organs and organizations to consistently apply the leading role of the party and the right of control without supplanting the functions of economic and state organs. We cannot successfully assure the fulfillment of current and future tasks without tenaciously and effectively checking as to how Communists in state and economic organs and leading cadres are fulfilling their obligations, how they are implementing the policies of the party in the individual areas of our life.

As was stressed at the 17th Congress of the CPCZ and the subsequent session of the Central Committee of the CPSL, further socioeconomic development is dependent upon acceleration of the intensification of the economy and on the wide application of the results of scientific-technical development as the basic link in the growth of labor productivity. The implementation of structural changes, connected with the priority development of progressive departments, the lowering of material and energy costs, and the increasing of product quality must become a firm component of management work. In the spirit of the intentions of the kraj conference, key production branches developed at a more dynamic pace—metallurgy, engineering, the electrotechnical, and chemical industries. We invested more than Kcs 26 billion in developing the material-technical base in the kraj. Nevertheless, structural changes are progressing only very slowly. The electrotechnical industry, which underwent the most dynamic growth, increased its share in industrial production only by 4 percent, which is very unsatisfactory. Production which is very demanding of materials, raw materials, and energy grew more rapidly. That is also why export products, for the most part, were not sufficiently competitive and showed a low degree of efficiency.

We see the causes of this kind of development in the unclarity of production programs, in the lack of conceptuality of the intents of investors, in the lack of preparation of construction projects, and in deferring deadlines for completing production capacities.

The prolongation of these problems could, in the future, threaten the fulfillment of our intentions. Consequently, the kraj party committee will be dealing with these questions, but primarily with the fulfillment of capital construction tasks, in the immediate future.

Modernization and reconstruction of the material-technical base plays an important role in the intensification and structural rebuilding of the kraj economy.

In this direction, the developments in the enterprises of the chemical industry, where production is being developed through the importation of modern technology and through the innovation of technologies having a higher level of innovative features, are positive. In so doing, use is being made of progressive forms of credit, such as foreign currency credits. Such approaches have our full support.

On the other hand, many old approaches still exist in the innovation of production equipment and technologies in the work of industrial enterprises. We often hear various excuses as to why modernization cannot be accomplished. Findings gathered by party organizations in evaluating enterprise programs of intensification, however, show that the majority of shortcomings in the organizations where technological innovation is not proceeding at an adequate pace are rooted in subjective reasons.

The share of the volume of modernization investments in industries in the kraj is roughly only 31 percent, compared to the national planned share of 50 percent.

The enterprises of the engineering industry—the ZTS at Kosice, the ZPA and the ZVL at Presov, but also the enterprises of the consumer industry—must proceed more boldly and in a more enterprising manner with respect to modernization.

We wish to stress again today that the kraj party committee fully supports the conclusions of the fifth session of the Central Committee of the CPCZ. These call for all-enterprise party committees of Communists, enterprise managers, and directors of factories to consistently support reconstruction and modernization in key departments.

Better Utilization of the Results of Science and Technology

In the interest of assuring these tasks, a closer connection must be made with respect to the broader commitment of enterprises to the international division of labor within the framework of the Comprehensive Program of Scientific-Technical Progress in CEMA Countries Through the Year 2000. We must see this as one of the ways of increasing series production, of improving the technical-economic parameters of products, and of accelerating structural changes.

The kraj party committee expended not a little effort on the development of direct contacts between our enterprises and the enterprises of the Soviet Union, particularly enterprises in the Transcarpathian Oblast. Examples of cooperation involving the Tatrasvit Plant at Svit, the Jas Plant at Bardejov, the ZTS Plant at Kosice, the

ceramics plant at Kosice, the Vihorlat Plant at Snina, the VUKOV at Presov, and others show us the possibilities and long-range prospects. The further expansion of these contacts requires the mobilization of every effort, the introduction of a systematic approach as well as the introduction of permanent and binding rules.

Comrades!

Comprehensive mechanization, automation, and robotization of production processes plays an important role in the growth of labor productivity, quality, and economy of products. The current status shows that this task is being assured inadequately. During the first 2 years of the 8th Five-Year Plan, of the planned 142 work sites slated for robotization only 128 were actually put into operation. It is necessary for the economic and party leadership of the ZVL Enterprise at Presov, the rolling stock plant at Poprad, the Tatramat Plant at Poprad, the Chemlon Plant at Humenne, the automotive brake plant at Presov, and others to create conditions for the introduction of 420 robotized work sites by 1990. We expect greater initiative in realizing the program, both on the part of producers and also suppliers of robotized technological work sites—the VUKOV at Presov, the Vihorlat Plant at Snina, the ZTS at Kosice, the Strojsmalt Plant at Medzev, and from the international ROBOT association. It is desirable for them to speed up the pace of research and development work and introduce newly developed automated equipment into production. At the same time, they must not forget to increase the reliability of these devices and to assure the availability of service. We must approach the introduction of robotized work sites conceptually. We must not permit a repetition of the situation which developed at the Moravian Electric Appliance Plant in Michalovce, where, as a result of a change in the production program, originally planned automated equipment became unusable.

To accelerate scientific-technical development, the research and development base must play a greater role in the better utilization of the results of science and technology. In the kraj, in recent years, the number of employees of the research and development base has increased and equipment at the work sites has been improved, but we cannot be satisfied with the results of this work which have been recorded thus far. The solution of tasks is frequently not concentrated on key problems. We are upset by the long time it takes to solve tasks and by the nonelastic realization of new findings in practice. Research and development facilities must be completed and the level of their work raised at the Bukoza Plant at Vranov, at the Piloimpregna Plant at Kosice, at Strojsmalt in Medzev, at Tesla at Stara Lubovna and Trebisov, at the MEZ at Michalovce, and at other facilities. By the end of the 8th Five-Year Plan, more than 10,000 people will be working in research and development. Virtually one-half of them will have an advanced school education. This creates the prerequisites for the further expansion of scientific research activity.

On the basis of the results achieved, we value the creative input made by the Institute for Experimental Metallurgy in such progressive areas as powder metallurgy and structural ceramics; further, we value the input made by the Institute of Experimental Physics in the area of superconductivity; we also value the work of the collectives from the engineering and electrotechnical faculties of the Advanced Technical School, at the VUKOV, and at the ROBOT Plant at Presov. We also value the work done by the enterprise research and development base, particularly at the Chemlon Plant at Humenne, at Chemovit at Svit, at the Chemka Plant at Strazske, at the East Slovakia steel mills, at the Vihorlat Plant at Snina, and elsewhere.

The restructuring of the economic mechanism and the transition to complete cost accounting require that the approach of our organizations with respect to preproduction phases undergo a fundamental change. It is important to improve the interconnection between these phases and the production base, to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of work involved in the creation of work sites for the automation of engineering operations. In this area, we have taken the first steps in the kraj, but we must improve the pace of specialist training and to establish centers which would transcend the bounds of enterprises.

The restructuring of the economic mechanism requires new viewpoints with respect to the quality of selected production. We took up this question at the session of the kraj and okres committees of the party and adopted a whole series of measures aimed at improving it. Partial improvement in quality was achieved in 1986. Currently, we are noting stagnation in this area, particularly in the cellulose and paper industry, in ferrous metallurgy, and in the electrotechnical industry. The maxim that quality primarily means order in production, the strict adherence to technological discipline, and consistent quality control in all phases of the production process continues to apply.

Comrades!

The demanding tasks outlining the framework of comprehensive restructuring of the economy in the kraj include improvements in efficiency. In the accomplishment of these goals, we utilize the experiences collected with respect to the verification of the principles of restructuring the economic mechanism in the Tatrasvit Plant at Svit, at the OZKN at Presov, at the Jas Plant at Bardejov, and at the heavy engineering plant in Kosice. The findings from their collectives, in which creative initiative is being deepened and sources of self-financing are being developed for further expansion of those plants, are valuable for us. Currently, 18 industrial enterprises and plants and 46 commercial organizations and service organizations are involved in verifying the principles involved in restructuring on an experimental basis. The number of workers involved in the experiment is 125,000.

We face demanding tasks in reorganizing the structure of the production-technical and scientific base. The purpose of the reorganization is to uncover conditions for the full application of the law on state enterprises, conditions to facilitate two-tier management, and to make it possible for enterprises to actually demonstrate entrepreneurship, make it possible for them to react economically and rapidly and elastically to the needs of society. Applications for the establishment of state enterprises are handled in the party organs of the kraj. In evaluating them, we proceed on the basis of consistent analyses, on the evaluation of their ability to apply complete cost accounting methods, on evaluation of self-financing capabilities, and on the abilities to support social development within their worker collectives. We also see to it that neither local nor industrywide interests are promoted at the expense of the interests of the entire society.

We believe that the acceleration of restructuring will be aided by amending the labor law. The principles of the amendment were submitted for public discussion. Workers in the kraj positively evaluated the fact that the principles were submitted for discussion rather than the language of each paragraph. The principle of the more effective prosecution of those who violate work and technological discipline was supported. The intention to eliminate social parasitism is valued. We consider it positive that the discussion in working collectives is being connected with assuring economic tasks.

We Expect More From Decisive Agricultural Okreses

Comrades!

The development of agriculture and those branches of the economy which assure the alimentation of the people was and is continuously at the focus of attention of the kraj party organization.

During the 2 years of the 8th Five-Year Plan, we exceeded the gross plan for agricultural production by 2 percent and, in comparison with the last 5-year plan, agricultural production volume rose by 14.2 percent with priority growth being recorded for plant production.

Significant forward steps in the production of grains were made particularly by the production okreses of Michalovce and Trebisov, although other okreses also fulfilled their tasks and exceeded them. In the kraj, we produced 366,000 tons of grain more than called for by the plan. Some 152 million liters of milk and 18,000 tons of slaughter animals were sold in above-plan sales. The economies of agricultural enterprises were firmed up. When comprehensively evaluated, good long-term results are being achieved by farmers in the okreses of Spisska Nova Ves, Bardejov, Vranov, Presov, and Stara Lubovna. We expect substantially more from decisive agricultural okreses in the kraj—namely from Trebisov, Michalovce, and Kosice.

Intensification of agricultural production was specifically influenced also by increased investments in the development of the East Slovakia Lowland and in other okreses, aimed particularly at making the land more fertile.

Despite an overall positive development, it was not possible to fulfill all tasks set by the plan for the development of agricultural production.

In plant production, we failed to fulfill the market production quota for potatoes and sugar beet. The quantity and quality of bulk fodders is increasing only at a slow pace. The largest arrears in this area are owed by farmers in the okreses of Michalovce, Trebisov, Poprad, and Rožnava. We see the causes for this nonfulfillment in the rigid approach to demanding tasks and in the slow application of scientific-technical findings in basic production, in bulk-buying and commercial organizations, and in the management sphere.

In the livestock production sector, it was possible to successfully halt the decline in the number of animals, but the planned intention of increasing their numbers was not achieved. This was manifested primarily in the nonfulfillment of planned tasks in the bulk buying of slaughter hogs. Reserves in the improvement of product quality, particularly of milk, continue to persist.

The elimination of shortcomings and the increasing of the intensity and efficiency of agricultural production in the kraj requires that all political-organizational work be aimed at raising the requirements for order, discipline, the requirements to make energetic and well-thought-out decisions with a view to the long-range assurance of self-sufficiency in production of products for the alimentation of the people. This places high demands upon the work of basic organizations of the party in all enterprises of basic agricultural production, on service enterprises, on the food processing branches, and, primarily, on the management sphere.

All our efforts must be aimed at the consistent fulfillment of tasks contained in the plan, at applying complete cost accounting principles, and introducing self-financing, both today and in the outyears. Toward this end, it is unavoidable that enterprises create 15 percent of their own financial resources to replace existing subsidies. In every agricultural enterprise it is necessary to focus the structure of production on the optimum utilization of given conditions so that fulfillment of social demands can be assured, and the growth of profitability of agricultural production can take place.

To increase self-sufficiency in terms of food in the kraj, it is unavoidable that, by the end of the 8th Five-Year Plan, the value of gross production be increased by 9.1 percent with priority growth (9.6 percent) being assigned to plant production. We must more rapidly eliminate the

difference between okreses and enterprises which operate under comparable conditions, but whose operational intensity and product quality differ significantly.

For purposes of the further dynamic development of plant production, it is necessary to continue to raise the quality of the entire process involved in making the land more fertile, to render the land management system in the East Slovakia Lowland. Everywhere it is necessary to implement the scientific system of alimentation and the integrated protection of plants while creating conditions for the formation and protection of the environment.

Growth in the number of animals, particularly of cows, must continue to be considered the decisive task in livestock production, along with increased utility, better reproduction, improved quality, and lower costs.

To increase the intensity and efficiency of agricultural production, it is unavoidable to apply scientific and technical findings at all its levels consistently.

The conclusions which the kraj party committee adopted last year to promote the more efficient application of scientific-technical developments are highly topical and it is necessary to implement them with tenaciousness of purpose.

We see possibilities for the further growth of agricultural production also in the elimination of the causes for the obsolescence of a relatively large number of enterprises. Existing experience confirms that this process must be connected with the solution of cadre questions, with firmed up work and technological discipline, with improvements in the quality of organizational and management work. The okreses of Humenne, Kosice, Michalovce, Rožnava, Svidník, and Trebisov must realize the urgency of solving these problems.

Initiative and the activity of individuals must be developed for purposes of the successful fulfillment of the demanding tasks in agriculture. New cadres are entering agriculture each year and, currently, more than 3,500 employees having advanced school education work in agriculture. It is necessary to make better use of this potential.

Improve Quality of Products in the Food Industry

Comrades!

We fulfilled the tasks set for the kraj by the plan in the food industry. There were certain improvements in supplier-consumer relations, there was more efficient utilization of purchased raw materials, and market requirements were better met, particularly with respect to basic types of foodstuffs.

The basis for success for producers of foodstuffs in the future will be primarily their effective collaboration with basic agricultural production. Food and processing

enterprises must substantially increase the growth rate of the level of raw materials utilization, quality, innovation, hygiene, and product durability. In conjunction with new and substantially tougher standards, as well as in conjunction with the need to intensify rational alimentation, fundamental improvements must take place, particularly regarding milk and meat products. Higher quality is demanded with respect to bread, vegetables, fruit, and nonalcoholic beverages. Applications of scientific-technical development in the food industry must be oriented toward increasing the volume of first-quality products, must be oriented toward the innovation program and toward the rationalization of alimentation. Fundamental improvements must take place also in the fulfillment of capital construction plans and reconstruction plans, where it is impossible to tolerate the deferment of deadlines and the prolongation of the time when new capacities will be available and new technologies will be in use.

We expect that Communists in the food processing industry engineering plants at Svidník will approach the realization of these tasks in the spirit of the principle of restructuring and in a new way.

The appropriate organs and Communists employed in them must bring to bear a more operational and inventive attitude toward reactions to shortcomings in the market which cause dissatisfaction among the populace. Also, in the production of foodstuffs, it is necessary to promote cooperation, specialization, and to institute direct contacts. Only in this way is it possible to dismantle seasonality and narrow profiles in the availability of some types of vegetables, fruit, and other products.

Despite the fact that forestry fulfilled its tasks, it is necessary to increase the quality of work, increase production, as well as the level of actual forestry management, of economic and single-purpose forests and their production and health status. We are not satisfied with the relationships some workers have with the forest and with the entire environment.

For the time being, we are not able to utilize everything offered us by the forest. An extensive approach with respect to the extraction of timber and its subsequent processing continues to exist. It is necessary to think more about the healthy life of the future generations.

In water management, measures to overcome specific shortcomings in the supply of potable water to the population, particularly in Kosice, Presov, Svidník, Rožnava, Michalovce, and other towns and communities, were realized, thanks to the effective assistance rendered by central party and government organs.

Greater effort, particularly on the part of national committees, resulted in the provision of new sources of potable water, assaying at 800 liters/sec; 500 liters/sec of this volume was destined for the city of Kosice. High

recognition is due the initiative of enterprises and organizations participating in the construction of the potable water pipeline from Medzev to Kosice. A decisive turnaround for the better was recorded at the construction of the waterworks system at Starina which, once the aqueduct from Presov to Kosice is completed, will make a significant contribution to the elimination of deficits in the consumption of water.

We can say that the crisis involving the supply of potable water is essentially overcome. However, this success must not erase everything which the crisis brought about from our memory. The lack of conceptuality of the work, a poor estimate of the situation and of long-range prospects, but also the lack of competence in the decision-making process used by some workers in this case resulted in a negative situation. We learned an expensive lesson from the mistakes which caused our citizens considerable concern and problems.

In order for the critical situation involving the supply of water not to be repeated, it is unavoidable to first render the concept of developing the water management economy more precise and to require the appropriate organizations to implement its realization consistently. We will require the fulfillment of tasks stemming from the ecological program of construction and development in the East Slovakia Lowland and flood control projects with equal strictness. We must devote greater attention to the protection of our streams and rivers, to the construction of wastewater purification plants and water modification facilities.

Comrades!

The past phase in the life and work of our kraj party organization resulted in additional express success which is the result of tenacious activity on the part of party organs and organizations and of brave, self-sacrificial work on the part of our workers, cooperative farmers, state farmworkers, journeyman workers, engineers, technicians, teachers, and many others to whom we also wish to give our heartfelt thanks on today's occasion. Many did much more than was their work obligation and, not infrequently, at the expense of their personal free time. We are happy that increased activity and initiative has become part and parcel of the work of the majority of our basic organizations of the CPSL.

At the same time, we realize that, with more effective management and organizational work, we could have achieved even better results in our kraj and we could have eliminated various shortcomings to a greater extent. We know that there are enough problems waiting for solutions.

Do Not Let Up in the Effort That Has Been Begun

The way we prove able to lead, to manage, and to organize the fulfillment of complicated tasks in the current era is largely dependent on the party, on its

preparedness, its unity, and its action capability. One of the basic requirements and proven principles of party work in all sectors is the objective evaluation of the given situation. If, on this basis, we consider the attained results, we must remind you that existing results give us no reason for complacency. Consequently, we cannot let up in the efforts which we have embarked upon, we must implement the course of higher requirements, we must more intensively and more effectively unite all forces and means at our disposal.

So far, we have not learned sufficiently how to exercise political leadership at the level of party organizations vis-a-vis economic organizations. For the present, the situation is such that the party organ or party organization often takes over, or is forced to take over, the obligation and responsibility of the enterprise or plant. This occurs generally in such instances where there is need to conduct a repeated struggle for the elimination of shortcomings, for the rectification of errors, for the introduction of order in the enterprise itself, as well as in its relationships with the superior link. It must be openly said that not everything which was stipulated by the seventh session of the Central Committee of the CPCZ has been successfully fully realized here. For the present, we are far from being able to proclaim that our basic CPSL organizations, our okres committees, or the kraj committee of the CPSL became rapidly reoriented and realized the conclusion of the seventh and ninth sessions of the Central Committee of the CPCZ. This will not be easy, it will not be simple, and it will not even be problem-free. But we must accelerate our pace.

We enter the next phase for realizing the conclusions of the 17th congress of our party with the goal and determination to consistently and uncompromisingly realize the program for the acceleration of the socioeconomic development involved in restructuring the economic mechanism and for the further development and elevation of socialist democracy, for strengthening order and discipline, but also for increasing the demanding nature of the results achieved in the spirit of the seventh and ninth sessions of the Central Committee of the CPCZ and the subsequent plenary sessions of the Central Committee of the CPSL. These are goals which we intend to fulfill through more progressive and particularly more effective forms of party work; these goals require every Communist to perform consistent and tenacious work. In fulfilling these obligations we must demonstrate a creative approach, we must promote efficiency, quality, and we must contribute to the development of our economy, as well as to other areas of socialist development.

Creatively and With an Energetic Approach

The decisive prerequisite for a more express turnaround in thought and action is active participation on the part of every Communist and all basic organizations of the party in promoting and implementing such forms and methods of work in which creativity and an energetic approach will dominate.

The new thinking, which we so often stress, must manifest itself in concrete work, but mostly in final results. It is necessary to be rid of formalism and bureaucracy at a faster pace. We are determined to part with everything and with everyone who directly or indirectly debases our great efforts as a result of carelessness, lack of discipline, or average performance. It is the duty of Communists to contemplate the stipulated tasks with initiative and with a new outlook and to not only seek but also apply such means and ways which would assure the fulfillment of tasks more qualitatively and more rapidly.

Even at okres conferences of our party the need to change the style of our work was heard many times. Among others, this means a differentiated approach with respect to individual collectives and working groups through more effective political-educational and training work. In party councils, open discussion, healthy polemics, criticism, self-criticism, as well as the adoption of realistic conclusions must dominate.

An express turnaround cannot occur at an accelerated pace as long as every Communist, particularly managers, does not grasp the importance of practical actions which alone advance life and increase the efficiency of work. Action cannot be replaced by speechmaking during meetings and consultations. The working style which we now require means the development of activity, specificity, the harmonizing of words and actions, the election of the most effective methods and means, but also the taking into account of the views of workers in a caring and consistent manner. The party can successfully fulfill the new tasks only if its members and lead officials critically evaluate the results attained and clearly see what needs to be done.

Today more than ever we first need for life in the party organizations to be more demanding, more critical, and more multifarious in its specific manifestations, characteristic openness, humanity, and modesty on the part of Communists.

We all realize that the strength of the party rests in its closest ties with the people and in the knowledge of the life-style of the broadest strata of the working people. Consequently, we consider the slogan "Face the Masses" not only to still be a topical slogan, but a permanent method for performing our work. Only a party which is the true revolutionary vanguard of the masses even in this important and immensely complicated and demanding era can fulfill its historic mission. Even today, we consider the CPSU to be an inexhaustible source of lessons for us as it mobilizes all of the Soviet people to fulfill the grandiose plans for the acceleration and perfection of all processes involved in the development of socialist society. In firm unity with the Soviet Union and with the other countries of the socialist community, we wish to advance with certitude and optimism. In the everyday activities of the kraj party organization we shall

energetically promote the urgent need to work at a higher quality level, to manage and organize better, to control better, and to effect better economies.

Our advances depend on people, their responsibility, and activities. It is the duty of Communists everywhere to build the creative atmosphere, to support new approaches, and to see to it that work is well-organized. Everywhere, just remuneration, the adherence to socialist principles, discipline and order in every sector, every work site, and in every party organization must be assured. We believe that the conclusions of our conference will become an inspiration for new worthwhile actions, for a new upsurge of conscientious and self-sacrificial work, for the further struggle to establish a developed socialist society.

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Mlynar Rejects Jakes Regime's Criticism of Prague Spring

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ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 29 Jun 88 p 10

[Article by Zdenek Mlynar: "The Prague Spring: A Historic Event That Is Not Part of the Past"]

[Text] Twenty years after the fact, political events tend to become part of history. But in some instances they cannot be relegated to text books or lectures because they have simply not become irrelevant with the passage of time. One such event was the attempt to change the economic and political system in Czechoslovakia which has come to be known as the Prague Spring. The new policies followed by the country which used its tanks against the Prague Spring in August 1968 are an urgent reminder of the then Czechoslovak heresy, vividly reviving the controversy about the meaning of this event of 20 years ago. [Milos] Jakes, the new head of the CPCz, now asserts that the goals then are synonymous with those of today.

The current regime in Prague which derives its legitimacy from the purported legitimacy of the Soviet military invasion and is forced at the same time to declare its support for the present Soviet reform policies is in a bind. It is therefore not only mobilizing ideologists and "journalists" ready to continue besmirching the Prague Spring, it is also setting its police on all those who dare to say that the then reformist ideas in Czechoslovakia and those in the Soviet Union today are part and parcel of the same developments.

Someone like myself who was deeply and directly involved in the events of 20 years ago cannot be expected to present an impartial analysis of them. But let me try nonetheless to reflect on those events in the light of what is happening today. Everyone is free to draw his own conclusions about the meaning of the past for the present.

There were a good many attempts to overcome the system of totalitarian dictatorship which evolved in the Soviet Union under certain historical conditions in the thirties and forties. This includes the opposition to Stalin among the Bolsheviks most of whom were murdered and/or, like Bukharin, branded as "counterrevolutionaries." It also includes Tito's rejection of the Stalinist model for Yugoslavia and Khrushchev's de-Stalinization campaign as well as the effect it had on Poland and Hungary in 1956. All these efforts are antecedents of the Prague Spring. Years after its suppression, there was "Poland 1980" and now we have perestroika in the Soviet Union.

These events are organically interconnected: the enemy was always the same, i.e., a Stalinist system. But they must not be reduced to a common denominator because, in effect, they are all different. In that sense, it is permissible to speak of the Prague Spring as a unique, unrepeatable event. Neither before, nor after did a similar development occur anywhere else. The Prague Spring was possible only in Czechoslovakia in the sixties.

It was not an explosion of mass discontent with a system under which it would have been impossible to continue living in the material or intellectual sense. It was not a revolt of the oppressed against their rulers who would only have relented under the threat of a violent uprising or, for that matter, whose language the people no longer spoke. All of the above applied to developments in Poland and Hungary in 1956 and later in Poland in 1980—it did not apply to the Prague Spring. In contrast to Khrushchev's reforms, the Prague Spring did not represent an attempt primarily to bring about changes in the power structure. It took place in the streets, at the workplace; it had an impact on the private lives of individuals.

It is understandable that the ideas of the reform communists "above" and those of the various social groups and strata "below" did not always coincide with regard to what changes were to occur in what order and at what speed. But this did not stand in the way of communication; it was possible to agree on a common language. Mutual trust existed between those wanting to reform the system "from above" and those who wanted to change it "from below." There was agreement, too, on the possibility of achieving gradual reforms without violence, by democratic means which, in the final analysis, would respond to the needs and interests of the vast majority of the population.

Within the Soviet Bloc, this could only happen in Czechoslovakia at that time. There alone had the experiences of the generations which were then playing a key role in political life created the basis for the required democratic potential both inside society and the communist party. The then middle generation of communists, i.e., those who had joined the party prior to 1948, could still recall conditions different from those of the Stalinist era. Since the end of 1945, there had been no

Soviet troops stationed in Czechoslovakia. Nevertheless, the communists, competing against four other political parties, had been able to win almost 40 percent of the vote in the 1946 election. The most important socialization measures had already been undertaken by 1948 although the communists did not have a power monopoly. Under the circumstances, the communist officeholders who launched the Prague reform attempt did not associate democratization and the democratic control of the party by society with the bugaboo of "violent counterrevolution." In Poland, Hungary and other countries, the slogan "control of the party by society" suggested the possibility that the people would hang the communists from the lantern posts. The communist leaders in those countries knew only too well that they would never be able to hold on to power without the Soviet Army. The Czechoslovak communists, on the other hand, were far more self-confident than that.

Even on controversial issues there was no unbridgable gulf in the perceptions of communists and of non-communists. This was demonstrated in public opinion polls conducted in Czechoslovakia in the summer of 1968 according to the methods also used in the West and thus with the same credibility level. Asked whether they would favor the establishment of political parties totally independent of the CPCz, more than 80 percent of the respondents answered in the affirmative and so did 67 percent of the communist party members. Only 7 percent of the total sample and only 16 percent of all party members rejected the idea. These differences of opinion were not serious enough to make it impossible for communists and non-communists to agree on a common language, particularly if other views are taken into consideration. At that same time, in July 1968, for example, 51 percent of the population voiced confidence in the policies of the CPCz; 33 percent adopted a neutral position, i.e., neither confidence, nor non-confidence and only 16 expressed no confidence in CPCz policies.

Under these circumstances which existed only in Czechoslovakia at that time the development of political democracy via reforms "from above" and simultaneous pressure "from below" became a possibility. It would certainly not have transpired without conflict; the communist reform program would have made for conflict. Without relapsing into a Stalinist-style system, this development could have been carried forward by democratic means which, as is well known, do not rule out drastic and administrative intervention against extremist tendencies. But this the then leaders of the communist parties in Moscow, Warsaw and Berlin found hard to imagine or to put it differently: they themselves would have had to feel threatened under the same circumstances. In light of conditions in their own countries they were probably right—but not in the case of Czechoslovakia which did not adjust to conditions in these other countries until after the military intervention and after a 20-year "normalization policy."

In the debate about the character and meaning of the Prague Spring; about the possibility of preventing the

military intervention or of Czechoslovak military resistance and about whether the political program of the reform communists was pluralistic and democratic enough, people tend to lose sight more and more of the "CPCz Action Program" of April 1968. In this context it is scarcely possible to present a detailed analysis of that program. But I will try to explain and to document by means of quotes what the underlying ideas were which underlay the effort to change the existing system.

The basic idea which kept recurring in many ways in the reform program of the Czechoslovak communists was that it was necessary to institutionalize politically effective control mechanisms to oversee all measures undertaken on the basis of the intrinsic power of the party. This could not be done by simply relying on the good will of the party but conditions would have to be created under which the party was no longer able to dictate procedures at will. If this program had been carried out, the CPCz would have remained a political party which could not have lost power, e.g., in an election in which ballots were cast for a (non-existent) opposition party. Concurrently, the program called for the establishment of effective barriers which the ruling party had to heed and which would have prevented it from returning to total control over society, to absolute political power and the dictatorship of the party and government apparatus.

The idea of the necessity to defend against despotism is nothing new: it is part of the Marxist critique of Leninist-Stalinist ideology and praxis in the Soviet Union. The new aspect was that a vast majority of the functionaries and members of a specific communist party had lined up behind a political program based on this idea; a party which, until that time, had exercised a power monopoly outside the control of society. In other words, in engaging in self-criticism, the communists even went beyond the criticism which had occurred in the Soviet Union under Krushchev, in Poland under Gomulka in 1956 and in Yugoslavia under Tito.

The reform communists in Czechoslovakia realized in 1968 that the existing Soviet-style system had been built up to achieve one or more priority goals at all costs. The goal of the entire system was not to permit any interference whatever with centrally adopted decisions and directives. This is why the ability of the individual members of society to engage in any and all independent activity (in the economy as well as in cultural and intellectual life) had been curtailed. The Soviet system viewed any and all independent actions as obstacles to the implementation of central decisions and plans.

Initiatives were just as uncalled for as new thinking and innovative ways of doing things. In specific situations such as during wartime or as part of Soviet-style industrialization this could be of value to the system. But it would quickly turn sour, if the objective was to find an optimal solution to a problem; to choose between different methods or to learn from new developments.

In Czechoslovakia, the communist party became aware of these truths 20 years ago—with regard to the economy which could only be developed intensively and with regard to cultural and political life. In the Soviet Union, the party did not become aware of these facts of life until after the Brezhnev era was over. The economic objectives of the Prague Spring reform program were to allow the market to act as a barrier against arbitrary and economically harmful decisions by the political apparatus. The new system was to get the individual industrial plants involved by decentralizing the decision-making process; to introduce an economically sound pricing system and competition among producers in the marketplace. The entire system was to be subject to democratic control of economic policies and to be characterized by competition between state-owned and cooperative enterprises as well as a limited number of private businesses, especially in the service sector. This would have served as an insurmountable barrier to the reintroduction of economic controls based on directives and commands from above. The state would have continued to regulate the major economic trends and to establish priorities among the various needs of society—but under no circumstances through direct production controls.

In the political field, the "action program" was to establish guarantees for a pluralistic democratic system—under special conditions, to be sure, since the reforms had to be based on a Soviet-style system. Under such conditions, democratization of relations inside the party plays an important role. The primary requirements for change in these relations were subordination of the party apparatus to elected bodies; secret elections to choose among several candidates; the right of the minority to its own views even after a majority decision has been reached and the right of the minority to request renewed debate of disputed issues after a certain period of time. At the same time, there would have been a definite, legally guaranteed separation of power between party, government and economic entities with the proviso that party bodies would under no circumstances be allowed to replace other organs which were responsible to the population as a whole.

Freedom of expression and freedom of the press were particularly important to ensure pluralism. The Prague Spring guaranteed both on paper and in practice. But these were in fact the only really existing elements of the new political system. As such, they were isolated in practice and thus acted as something of an irritant. But freedom of speech and of the press were not accompanied with sufficient authority on the part of democratically elected bodies. In particular, the kind of correctives that operate in a functioning democracy were lacking which make it impossible for various opinions broadcast by the media to be confused with actual political decisions.

The "action program" called for the development of a state totally based on the rule of law, i.e., the realization of the separation of powers; an independent legal system;

subordination of political life under the rule of law according to the principle that anything not forbidden by law must be permissible. All this was truly revolutionary—because previously the exact opposite had been the rule, i.e., whatever was not permitted by the regime was automatically forbidden. "It is not the goal of the party to be the 'overall administrator' of society," the "action program" said, "or to lay down directives affecting all organizations and every aspect of life....The policies of the party must not make our non-communist citizens feel that their rights are being curtailed by the actions of the party....Decisions on all major issues and personnel matters must be reached according to democratic procedural rules and by secret ballot....Controversy and debate are an expression of the pluralistic, responsible search for optimal solutions, of the effort to replace the old with the new.

"Voluntary social organizations must be founded on truly voluntary membership and activity. Individuals join these organizations because they wish to see their interests well represented; they therefore have a right to choose their officeholders and representatives on their own. It is not permissible for outsiders to impose such persons on the organizations...The exercise of constitutional rights and freedoms must be safeguarded in such a manner that the establishment of voluntary organizations, interest groups, associations and the like on the basis of the present interests and needs of different groups and classes of our population be guaranteed by law and that bureaucratic impediments and the monopolistic rights of any and all organizations be ruled out...Our citizens must not be subject to arbitrary orders from above which decide on what information they may or may not be given, on what opinions they may or may not express and where public opinion may or may not be heard...Constitutionally guaranteed freedom of movement, especially the right to travel abroad, must be clearly guaranteed by law. Every citizen has the legal right to remain abroad for extended periods of time and must not be forced into emigre status without cause...Even in a socialist society there must be a parliament that exercises all the functions of a parliament in a democratic republic...It must genuinely decide on the merits of legislation and important political issues and must not merely agree to previously prepared resolutions...The policy of the party is based on the demand that excessive power should not be concentrated in any branch, apparatus or individual throughout the government establishment...Safeguards must be created to ensure the correction of possible mistakes of one branch by the actions of another...The legal policy of the party is based on the principle that all legal disputes (even including those relating to administrative decisions by the state apparatus) must come to trial before a proper court of law which is independent of political jurists and solely bound by the legal code...It is the job of the state security service to protect the state against espionage by foreign countries. Any citizen who has not been guilty of any such infraction is to be assured that his political views and opinions, his personal view of the world and

his activities will not be the object of any surveillance by the state security forces. The party underscores the fact that these forces must not be employed for the solution of internal policy issues and conflicts."

The significance of the Prague Spring 20 years ago and its significance for the present are easy to see. For another thing, we can now attempt an answer to the question of the extent to which the Prague Spring was or was not identical to today's policy of glasnost and perestroika in the Soviet Union and the other nations of the Soviet Bloc. One thing is clear: Because the Prague Spring 20 years ago came to an end primarily as a result of foreign military intervention, there was no change positively to resolve a single one of the problems it had so clearly identified. Over the past 20 years the political leadership imposed on Czechoslovakia by foreign will and foreign power has suppressed even the slightest attempt to talk about these issues. It is therefore certain that the conditions for successful reform in Czechoslovakia along the lines of Soviet-style perestroika "from above" or "from below" will not exist as long as these individuals remain in charge. Based on its experience since 1968, the Czechoslovak people does not believe that the leaders are capable of bringing about genuine change or that they want more democracy.

A return to 20 years ago is no solution. There is no such thing; nor would the then political leaders be able to find a way out. Most of them are in their sixties now and, what is more, they have proven incapable of implementing their reform program despite all their good intentions and programs. That generation has been defeated. In the aftermath of their efforts, political conditions in Czechoslovakia got worse than they were prior to 1968. A younger generation would have to find and fight for a way out. As of now, however, that generation has neither captured any adequate political position, nor does it seem particularly enthusiastic about taking risks in a battle against the Czechoslovak brand of Brezhnevism and stagnation.

Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet party chief, cannot be expected to bring a new policy to Prague. That is not his job. But he could make more of an effort than he has up to now. He could and should distance himself publicly from the military intervention in Czechoslovakia in August 1968 by saying that it was a grave mistake even then and that it violated international law. This would not only be helpful for developments in Czechoslovakia but would also enhance the credibility of "new political thinking" in the Soviet Union.

[From April to November 1968 the author was secretary of the central committee of the CPCz. He has been living as a political scientist in Austria since 1977.]

Prague Spring Ideas on Workers' Councils Denounced

24000135 Prague PRACE in Czech 22 Jul 88 p 5

[Article by Jaroslav Mazal: "They're Spinning a Strange Yarn..."]

[Text] Some of those who 20 years ago dragged our country into a deep social crisis are today fond of posing as the aggrieved victims, unjustly labeled as revisionists and antisocialists. And that's not all. They were presumably, as they now assert about themselves, the authors of and advance fighters for the process of socialist restructuring, here as well as in the other socialist countries.

Among other things they are hawking the thesis that the councils of work collectives, presently being set up as self-management organs in enterprises and factories, are in their conception, direction, and goals identical with the councils that were being established in our country 20 years ago. What was the real state of affairs in the years of crisis? We could cite a number of concrete proofs showing that the then representatives of a right-wing, antisocialist policy did not at all initially contemplate any form of a more active participation of workers in enterprise management and decisionmaking, or in political matters generally. True, on occasion and with a demagoguery that was their hallmark, they would pontificate on the need for a workers' policy. But in reality they had no interest in a stronger assertion of the working class strength and influence on the trend of developments. The right wing feared a decisive involvement of the working class; the experience of February 1948 was still in their living memory. Hence, the right wing tried to hinder worker activism in the political struggle in which it was largely successful in the first stage of the crisis.

Perhaps the bluntest expression of the elitist, antiworker policy of those who during the crisis years so ruthlessly strove for political power to satisfy their personal career ambitions was offered by the writer Jan Prochazka. In an interview with Agence France-Presse in the summer of 1986, he let it be known that, in contradistinction to the intelligentsia, which is in the vanguard of the democratization renewal trend, the working class is "the reserve of the conservative forces." From this a single conclusion could be drawn: If indeed the working class is a reserve of the conservative forces, isn't it one more reason, within the framework of the so-called renewal process, according to J. Prochazka, to deprive it of the attribute of the leading component of our society? And the communist party as the party primarily of the working class, shouldn't it be deprived of its mission as its revolutionary vanguard? Theses of this kind, denying the working class and the communist party of the right of an active participation in the country's political and public life, were then being spread by J. Prochazka also in other media, domestic and foreign, as for instance in the conversation with the KOLNER STADT-ANZEIGER editor Christian Schmidt-Hauer.

Gradually the intellectual exponents of the antisocialist policy came to realize the fallacy of their notions and their attitude toward workers; they are drawing practical conclusions from this recognition. Their interest, until then focused primarily on public discreditation and weakening of the communist party, on its exclusion from political life, is now gradually being extended to political disinformation of workers, especially in industrial enterprises and factories. Viewed through the prism of the antisocialist forces' strategy, it is in a way understandable and logical: the so-called new model, with an "economy freed from the shackles of party bureaucracy" but also from a state system and control, as it was then presented in various contexts and forms by O. Sik, truly could not excite worker enthusiasm.

Those were ideas and concepts visualizing on the one side technocratic managers, who, according to O. Sik were supposed to have at their command a free market, a free price system, and free labor reserves, thus making them a prime power elite of this truly peculiar "socialist" society, and on the other the workers, left only with the role of people executing labor tasks assigned to them. Such concepts were not and could not be in any way attractive to members of the working class. And so, in order to bolster the impression that, even under the conditions of the "new model," workers will have a real chance to have their say on anything, it was necessary to provide the illusion of a democratic codecision right. It was this purpose that the councils of the working people were supposed to serve at that time.

It is worth mentioning that, at a time when the right-wing antisocialist forces felt themselves firmly in the saddle and certain of victory, the council idea did not arouse much of their interest. They did not assign them the kind of role that they did for instance early in 1969 when they began to modify it to fit their socially disintegrative tactic. Not even O. Sik himself was initially interested in the councils and even repudiated them; he accepted the idea only later, while combining it with a majority representation of the technical and economic intelligentsia, chosen partly from practice and partly from scientific institutions. This type was largely adopted, as emerges from data on the councils established in early 1969.

This was the main reason the right-wing extremists, during the crisis period, engaged in a more or less verbal flirtation with the idea of workers councils, without interest in its practical and full-fledged implementation. Had the workers councils at that time been composed so as to correspond to their name, had they become active in the defense of the class interests of the working class, they would have inevitably run into irreconcilable and sharp conflict with the powerful "new class" of industrial managers and technocrats of the newly structured society. It is for this reason that the right-wing antisocialist forces had no real interest in the functioning of councils with a strong representation of working class members.

To say the least, it is hypocrisy for the fallen luminaries of the so-called Prague Spring to put an equation mark between what they then conceived as workers councils and our new elected self-government organs in enterprises and factories. It is an opportunistic attempt to mix what is unmixable, to deceive and mislead the forgetful and the unsophisticated. As the well-known saying has it, an insolent mien is worth more than an inherited farm.

13445/12232

Decreed Constitutional Court Still Not in Existence

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ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 9 Jul 88 p 6

[Article by Dr Karl Vodicka, research fellow at the Collegium Carolinum Research Institute for Bohemian Lands, Munich: "The Forgotten Constitutional Mandate"]

[Text] Czechoslovakia has had its constitutional court since 1968—it just has not been constituted yet. The Constitutional Law of the Czechoslovakian Federation, on the basis of which Czechoslovakia was transformed from a unitary into a federal state in 1968, provided for a phenomenon hitherto unknown to the Czechoslovakian socialist legal system and which at that time had no counterpart in the legal systems of the other socialist states (with the exception of Yugoslavia): a constitutional court. The constitutional court was set forth in the constitutional charter as the judicial organ for the protection of constitutionalism. It was supposed to test the constitutionality of the laws and the other generally applicable legal provisions enacted by the federal government and the republics, to decide in cases of jurisdictional disputes between the organs of the federal government and the republics as well as those between organs of both republics, and to protect the rights and freedoms guaranteed by the constitution.

But so far—20 years after the federal constitution went into effect—no one has succeeded in making the constitutional mandate to establish a constitutional court a reality. The constitutional court was not constituted, the constitutional court judges were not elected. No building in Prague proudly displays a granite tablet on its main entrance emblazoned with the first sentence of the constitution: "The Constitutional Court of the Czechoslovakian Socialist Republic is a judicial institution for the protection of constitutionality."

Why was the constitutional court not constituted? Who performs the task of the constitutional court? Who sees to unswerving compliance with and respect for constitutional norms, for harmony with constitutional form and constitutional reality? Discussion of the constitutional court occurred primarily in 1969. After "consolidation"

following the crushing of Prague Spring had gotten under way in earnest, there was no more talk of this guardian of constitutionalism—it has been, in fact, repudiated, if mostly only indirectly.

Peska, the head of the Czechoslovakian Academy of Sciences' then working group for the preparation of the constitutional court law, wrote in 1969: "The idea for the constitutional court undoubtedly is based on the recognition that a democracy without judicial rules (that primarily means without a constitution) represents arbitrariness equal to the absolute rule of a monarch. These rules require an independent judge, which, in continental tradition, is specifically the constitutional court judge. The introduction of constitutional jurisdiction is an element of the process of blending socialism with democracy and constitutionalism."

In 1969 public law specialist Blahoz also argued for the establishment of the constitutional court: "In our opinion the argumentation for and against constitutional jurisdiction which uncritically glorifies the monolith of state power which can be manipulated within the bureaucratic-centralized conception of the socialist state, can no longer be justified. In the contemporary developed industrial states constitutional jurisdiction undoubtedly is not only of general political importance, but of specifically constitutional importance as well."

In the same publication (PRAVNIK) 3 years later, the same author, Blahoz, in the article "Critique of Bourgeois Theories of Constitutional Jurisdiction" (there was no longer any talk of the socialist variety), expressed a different view: "On the basis of the scientific findings of Marxist-Leninist political science, constitutional jurisdiction in the bourgeois states is to be regarded as an antidemocratic institution which to one degree or another limits the powers of the supreme representative organ. Constitutional courts de facto usurp not only the powers of the supreme legislative organ, but those of the organ which creates the constitution as well."

The changed situation was apparently the evil thorn whose prick caused Czechoslovakian constitutional jurisdiction to fall into slumber like Sleeping Beauty—for two decades, for one thing. The constitutional court would be an alien body in the recentralized communist power structure—the sole institution that could not be checked at any time by the party. That would create a crack in the monolithic power pyramid at whose apex the party leadership stands. In the constitutional court as it was conceived in the constitution, a comparatively independent institution of constitutional status would arise which would not only decide on the constitutionality of legal norms and jurisdictional disputes between the individual components of the governmental system, but would also be entitled to guard human and civil rights. As human rights are violated at every turn, the constitutional court, if it really fulfilled this mission, would inevitably develop into an opponent of the party.

Official state legal theory gives the decisive role in the protection of constitutionalism to the Federal Assembly and its constitutional law committee: The creation of a special organ which, as an auxiliary, working organ of the Federal Assembly, concerns itself with preventative supervision of the constitutionality of the laws, is allegedly necessary. In that case, certain questions still remain unanswered: Can the Federal Assembly objectively determine that one of its laws contradicts the constitution? Can this supreme representative organ of the federal government make decisions concerning jurisdictional disputes between the federal government and the republics (which, according to the constitution, retain their original sovereignty) without being influenced by the federal government's interests? Rather than that, the centrally-directed Party jumps in and decides the jurisdictional disputes between the constitutional institutions with the assistance of its own authority and at its own partisan discretion. The justification that the federation could not function otherwise, is obvious.

And where can a citizen turn now if he feels the rights and freedoms which have been guaranteed to him by the constitution have been violated? Nowhere. The absence of an institution that could take up the cause of citizens' complaints about the violation of their constitutional rights contributes to the lifeless hush in the nation—at least for the time being.

According to Marxist theory, justice represents the will of the ruling class which has been codified into law. Accordingly, socialist justice is the will of the dominant working class which has been codified into law. The socialist constitution, as the legal norm with the greatest force of law, is thus the supreme will of the working class. The workers, by force of their supreme will, desire a constitutional court. But the supreme will of the ruling class does not appear to be taken especially seriously in this case.

And since there is not and has not been a constitutional court in socialist Czechoslovakia, there is no institution which, with the full authority intended by the constitution, could draw attention to this fundamental disregard of the constitution's imperatives, or which could threaten sanctions for the serious violations of the obligations which themselves derive from the "law of laws"—to use the Marxist term for the constitution.

The ice has covered the Moldau River by the old parliament building in Prague 20 times already since "Prague Spring," and 20 times the ice has thawed. Meanwhile, too, many socialist countries have gradually come to the realization that "democracy without judicial rules represents arbitrariness equal to that of the absolute rule of a monarch." Administrative courts have been established and recently even Poland has constituted its constitutional court (although with limited jurisdiction).

The jurisdictional authority of a Czechoslovakian constitutional court, anchored in the constitution, sleeps on and on—like Sleeping Beauty. Will she also find her prince?

13238/9604

POLAND

Bulgarian Defense Organization Visit

26000578b Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
27 June 88 p 5

[Text] On Saturday, a visit to our country by the Council of the Central Defense Council in the Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic, headed by Lt Gen Trifan Balkan, came to an end.

The Bulgarian guests became acquainted with the structure and tasks of the National Defense League (LOK), exchanged experiences on the subject of the patriotic-defense upbringing of society, and especially the youth, and the training of specialists for the armed forces. They visited LOK centers and clubs in Poznan, Konin, Wrzesna, Bydgoszcz, and Torun.

The members of the delegation were received by the chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Polish Army, Gen Div Tadeusz Szacilo.

9295

Bulgarian Economic Arbitration Delegation Visit

26000579e Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
28 Jun 88 p 2

[Text] A delegation from the State Arbitration Office of Bulgaria, including the main arbitrator of the Supreme State Arbitration Court of the Bulgarian People's Republic, Prof Czudomir Goleminow, ended its visit in Poland. The subject of the talks were problems connected with the functioning of arbitration in both countries during the period of economic reform. The visitor was received by the deputy chairman of the Planning Commission in the Council of Ministers, Franciszek Kubiczek. The chairman of the State Office for Economic Arbitration, Edward Zachajkiewicz, took part in the meeting.

9295

Polish-Bulgarian Trade Company Established

26000585e Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
29 Jun 88 p 2

[Text] The first Polish-Bulgarian production-trade company was formed. Its shareholders are the specialist horticultural plant owned by Anna and Karol Pawlak in Lochow near Bydgoszcz and the cooperative horticultural enterprise in Gorna Bania, which is part of the Bulgarian APK "Sredec" farm-industry complex. The

company was named "Vitroflora," and its headquarters will be in the town of Nowy Yakir near Sofia. The signatures to the founding deed are on file in the Commercial Councillors Office of the Bulgarian People's Republic in Warsaw.

9295

Chinese-Polish Friendship Society Visit
26000578d Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
27 Jun 88 p 5

[Text] From 20 to 26 June, a four-person delegation from the Chinese-Polish Friendship Society, headed by the vice president of the Society, Cheng Dong, visited Poland. During its stay, the delegation visited the main board of the Society, reviewed the implementation of the agreement on cooperation by both societies, and exchanged views on current and future coexistence problems.

The delegation journeyed to Katowice and Kalisz Provinces, became acquainted with the work of the Societies' chapters and clubs, and visited workplaces and cultural centers.

9295

PZPR Academy Hosts Soviet, Polish Historians
26000578c Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
27 Jun 88 p 5

[Text] On 22-25 June, in Warsaw at the PZPR Academy of Social Sciences, a meeting of the working group of a joint commission of party historians on the history of Polish-Soviet relations was held. The group, under the leadership of the cochairman of the commission, Prof Jarema Maciszewski, continued its work on problems described in the commission's program.

The Soviet part of the commission was represented by Prof Aleksander Czubarian, director of the Current History Institute in the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Oleg Rzeszewski, Institute department chief.

9295

Nicaraguan Unionists Meet With OPZZ
26000579d Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
28 Jun 88 p 2

[Text] A delegation from the Sandinista Workers Center (CST), with secretariat member Marcial Enrique Cabrera Sandoval, visiting in Poland at the invitation of the OPZZ, met with Alfred Miodowicz, OPZZ chairman. Information on the sociopolitical and economic situation in both countries was exchanged.

9295

Nicaraguan, Polish Christian Groups Meet
26000579c Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
28 Jun 88 p 2

[Text] Kazimierz Morawski, member of the Council of State and president of the Christian Social Association, received the ambassador of Nicaragua, Fanor Antonio Herrera Perez. The subject of the talks was matters connected with the development of cooperation between Poland and Nicaragua, and in particular the expansion of contacts between Christians of both countries.

9295

Greenpeace Delegation on Baltic Sea Visits
26000585a Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
30 Jun 88 p 2

[Text] Members of the international environmental protection organization Greenpeace came to Poland.

Early in May, Greenpeace began a special campaign to save the waters of the Baltic Sea from ecological disaster. In connection with this, its representatives have already been in Denmark, Sweden, Finland, and the Soviet Union. In Poland, water from the Puck and Gdansk Bay will be tested, as well as the mouth of the Vistula into the Baltic Sea.

9295

Home Army Internees in USSR Hold Reunion
26000593b Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 31, 31 Jul 88 p 6

[Letter by N. N.: "Reunion of Penal Colony Convicts"]

[Text] On 28 and 29 May, the 2nd Reunion of Former Prisoners in Stalin's camps in the Soviet Union—soldiers of the AK [Home Army]—was held in Boleslawiec. The afternoon of the first day was taken up by recollections of the war and the camps, AK and prison songs and a community supper for hard labor convicts and Z/Ks [Z/K—short for "zakliuchennyi," Russian for "prisoner"], 150 of whom had arrived.

On the second day of the reunion, the main item was a solemn mass celebrated by Bishop Adam Dyczkowski for the intentions of AK soldiers who:

- were deported, murdered, or died in hard labor colonies.
- died after returning to Poland.
- survived years of ill treatment.

During church ceremonies, the bishop unveiled and consecrated a memorial plaque honoring the AK soldiers of Districts II and III East, subsequently prisoners in

hard labor colonies for many years. The act of consecration was preceded by a statement by former prisoner of a special regime camp in Vorkuta ("rechlag"), Jerzy Urbankiewicz, hard labor convict number Zh-397.

9761

Former Soviet Army Soldiers Awarded in Szczecin
26000579f Warsaw *RZECZPOSPOLITA* in Polish
28 Jun 88 p 2

[Text] Over 200 members of the Poles Club, former soldiers of the Soviet Army, were decorated in Szczecin with the Soviet Order of the National War for their participation in battles with the German troops during 1941-1945. Among them were participants of the defense of Moscow and Leningrad, soldiers who fought in Volgograd, Kursk Bend, Crimea, took part in the Vistula-Oder and Berlin operations, and were members of reconnaissance groups.

9295

Sejm's Special Powers Defined as Necessary to Reform

26000578a Warsaw *ZYCIE PARTII* in Polish
No 11, 1 Jun 88 pp 3, 8

[Article by Wojciech Polec: "Hopes for Efficiency"]

[Text] On 11 May 1988 the Sejm passed a law giving special powers and authority to the Council of Ministers. These powers do not disturb the bases of reform, do not strike at its principles and institutional solutions, and in no way discredit the "Program for the Implementation of the Second Stage of Economic Reform." They are intended mainly and only to advance the progress of reform, protect society's living standard, the position and strength of the State, and the hope for a better future for the nation.

The socioeconomic processes occurring during the early months of this year point to the appearance of many favorable aspects. Industrial production has been better than last year. Construction has been on an upward trend. Foreign trade turnovers have increased. The instruments and institutional decisions which have been introduced have resulted in a large growth in export. Overall, therefore, the advancement of annual tasks was high, after the first quarter, higher than in previous years. But at this point we must clearly state that the "economic condition" in particular sectors, enterprises and provinces, varies greatly.

Unfortunately, in addition to the positive economic results, some unfavorable tendencies became very evident. They were particularly strong in the money-market field and in the motivational influence of wages and salaries. In the first quarter, personal incomes rose 61 percent, which means that they grew 25 percent faster than had been planned. Average wages and salaries were

65.6 percent higher than in the same quarter last year. And although the wage growth was uneven and highly varied, there were very few enterprises in which wages rose less than 40 percent. It is also undeniable that a large part of the wage increases were regarded as being only compensation for price increases. Meanwhile, prices in the first quarter rose 45 percent. And although average wage growth exceeds price growth, in the minds of the people the situation is felt to be critical. It has not been possible to achieve a situation in which compensation for price increases would take the form of greater availability of consumer goods on the market. In the eyes of the public—based on the appearance of store shelves—the price-income operation gave the impression that it was merely a "spinning of wheels".

The quality-effectiveness processes were also proceeding badly, showing no progress and even regression. Productivity of fixed assets dropped, energy-intensiveness rose, and the materials-intensiveness of the national income declined slightly. All of these unfavorable aspects produce anxiety and tension. The impression of price-income chaos and an uncontrolled inflationary spiral of wages and prices is beginning to prevail.

The party, as the promoter and spokesman for reform, perceives these threats. All of these negative processes and aspects have been carefully observed. This was expressed by Wojciech Jaruzelski as early as 31 March in his speech at the ZSL 10th Congress, in which he announced that the government would be granted special powers if it appeared, after the first quarter, that the signs of an escalating inflation are increasing.

In essence, therefore, the special powers and authority given by the Sejm to the Council of Ministers are directed at accelerating the application of reform. They are meant to strengthen the position of the really effective enterprises and management cadres, for whom the second stage of reform means a chance to develop ingenuity and innovativeness.

The special powers constitute a compact list of provisions permitting decisions to be made which will apply discipline and order to the economy and the people—the executors, and also hasten the implementation of the second stage of reform and enforce compliance with its requirements.

The process of organizational-review and job-certification in enterprises has been underway for 2 years. Thus far, its effects are very unsatisfactory. Despite the profound changes being made in the management of the economy, many old elements and habits are concealed behind new signboards. Excessive employment, bad work organization, an expanded—beyond all measure—reporting system, bureaucratic inertia, formalized structures and functions in state and cooperative enterprises—still continue to be burdensome. The power, provided in the law, to require enterprises to simplify their organization, eliminate unnecessary sections and

jobs, and put a halt to administrative growth, should certainly help to overcome these organizational obstacles. This power makes it possible to break the subjective resistance to the acceleration of reform of internal structures and management systems in enterprises, cooperatives, and other organizations.

The powers contained in the law pertain to management and describe, in detail, the conditions for breaking-up, merging or liquidating a state enterprise. This kind of power will make it possible to clearly accelerate the modernization of the structure of the economy. In particular, it will facilitate:

- better, more efficient utilization of the not-fully utilized production assets of enterprises; for example, by moving assets which are not used on all shifts, or by property transfers of unutilized buildings;
- more efficient and productive utilization of raw materials and supplies, fuels and energy;
- the strengthening of coproduction ties by combining certain coproducing factories into one enterprise, thereby increasing competitiveness;
- an acceleration of demonopolization and development of competition; branch factories to become independent when they are not technologically connected with the main plant, and their independence will strengthen efficiency incentives.

In modernizing the structure of the economy, we are already reducing outlays and funds for investments which have been dragging on for years, for example, a fuels-energy complex. These funds are being allocated for investments which will bring quick results, save large amounts of raw materials, supplies and energy, and produce modern, high-quality products. It is precisely for this purpose that we will make use of the Fund for Structural Changes in Industry.

The law on special powers and authority for the Council of Ministers will facilitate a change in the structure of investments and hasten the liquidation or bankruptcy of enterprises which are unprofitable or are using obsolete technologies, mainly in heavy industry and mining. The authority to define an accelerated management-improvement procedure or detailed accelerated bankruptcy proceeding, will help to strengthen discipline over enterprises as regards persistent inefficiency and will lead to effective utilization of the law on improving the management of a state enterprise and bankruptcy.

Independence must be balanced with responsibility. The observance of correct economic relationships and price-wage discipline in an enterprise should be the individual, personal responsibility of the director, the manager. In promoting a cadre which enters the second stage of economic reform with passion and determination, we

create a kind of management elite, and the "complainers" about reform should be judged more severely and the incompetent persons removed.

When the economic situation of an enterprise is poor and there seems to be no hope for rapid improvement in the near future, the responsibility should lie with the director. Unfortunately, in practice we still encounter many examples of the "defense"—in the badly perceived public interest—of directors who do not perform their duties and find it hard to adapt to the requirements of the new economic system. That is why the law contains the authority to fire or suspend a director of a state enterprise, or the manager of another organization, and to suspend a manager of a cooperative in cases of violation of discipline in establishing correct economic relationships. It is this authority which should help to ensure observance of discipline over management. And the basis for possible decisions will be opinions based on objective criteria, taking into account management efficiency and the conformance of the operations with the principles of reform. The decision to fire or suspend an enterprise director should be preceded by first obtaining the opinion of the workers council, and in the case of the manager of a cooperative, of the cooperative's self-management organs.

Let us repeat: The struggle taking place is not for the purpose of removing the incompetents, but for the purpose of selecting those who are best and hastening their advancement and development. The next plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, which will assess and formulate directives for cadre practice, will give special impetus to this.

The amendment to the law on plant wage systems, announced by the Sejm, should tie wages more closely to work results.

The law on special powers and authority for the Council of Ministers also considers the possibility of introducing a ban on spending money from targeted funds, and also from specific funds created in state enterprises or other cooperative organizations. This authority, of course, will not pertain to the plant's social or housing fund. Therefore, it will help to slow down the growing disproportions between the excess money in the hands of the state enterprises and cooperatives, and the real possibilities that it will be spent effectively. There are now almost a billion zlotys in enterprise development funds which, because they have no counterpart in the form of a suitable supply of machines, equipment, building services, etc., are widening the inflationary gap and contributing to the strength of the producer market. The ban on spending—and this should be particularly emphasized—will not pertain to funds coming from public sources, as, for example, the National Health Protection Fund, the School Assistance Fund, etc.

Among the powers there is one which will permit the suspension, or periodic change, of the rules by which prices, margins, fees and taxes are fixed, and the rules for establishing funds for wages and salaries, taking supply factors into account. It will be used to prevent unjustified increases in prices and wages, protect the standard of living of our citizens, improve the connection between wages and work productivity, and support actions to restore money-market balance. The authority allows for more legal control in this field and also for periodic revision of certain provisions. Furthermore, it will enable the experimental verification, on a lesser scale, of unconventional solutions, especially in the area of personal services, trade, market production and services.

The law empowers the Council of Ministers to freeze prices for longer than 3 months and to prohibit wage increases. The authority provides a basis for a possible decision on extending the price freeze beyond the legal limit and on the periodic banning of wage increases, but with consideration to the requirements of their motivational function. This will create stable conditions for anti-inflation measures. This authority has a disciplinary purpose as regards producers, and can be applied overall or selectively towards specific groups of products and economic fields.

In order for all of these measures to bring results, social and production discipline in the workplace is absolutely essential. The law provides for partial and temporary restrictions on the ability to undertake collective bargaining, but only on matters connected with the implementation of special powers and authority. Otherwise, the decisions of the Council of Ministers, made on the basis of these powers, could turn out to be impossible to enforce. They would be simply condemned to a difficult, socially-costly process of long-term agreements. The government, enmeshed in dozens of disputes, could not guarantee that the overall interests of society would be respected.

The provisions of the law—and this must be clearly stated—do not restrict the role and function of the trade unions and the socio-occupational organizations of the farmers. Nor do they violate the principles of the Labor Code.

The list of special powers permits a wide range of measures which can be applied, depending on the socio-economic situation. They allow for the elimination of anomalies and wrongdoings which became apparent during the implementation of the second stage of economic reform.

The effectiveness of the special powers will be decided by those at whom they are directed—the enterprises, and particularly those in which the application of economic reform is proceeding with resistance. From this standpoint, the role of the primary party organizations is

special. It is they which should create the conditions which are conducive to elimination of inefficiency and neglect, and to close collaboration with the local administration.

It is anticipated that the provisions of the law will be in effect until the end of this year. And in accordance with the Politburo's announcement, after the first 6 months a comprehensive evaluation will be made of the functioning of the special powers.

9295

Sovereignty, Constitutionality, Party's Leading Role Examined

26000625 *Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY* in Polish No 33, 14 Aug 88 pp 3, 5

[Article by Stanislaw Michalkiewicz: "Sovereignty of the People or Sovereignty of the Party?"]

Legal Regulation of Political Party Activities

[Text] Despite the unprecedented growth of the state's legislative activities in the last 100 years, the sphere of political party activities is covered by the legislation quite poorly. This is due to at least two reasons. The first is fittingly described by Marek Sobolewski, who notes that omitting party activities in the public law originated from the liberal concept of the state, which recognized only the individual citizen and the state organ. Everything else belonged in the "sphere of facts," and the sphere of facts was the domain of activities by individuals in which the state does not interfere, except through the criminal law (M. Sobolewski, *Partie i systemy partyjne swiata kapitalistycznego* [Parties and Party Systems of the Capitalist World], Warsaw, 1977). Despite the gradual, or frequently vehement abandonment of the liberal concept of the state, legislation still maintained praiseworthy moderation in this sphere. I believe that it results both from the difficulty of presenting the phenomenon of power in the language of legal norms and the absence of the need for specific regulations. After all, a party discharges its power basically through the state, i.e. using state organizations to this end, therefore, regulating the activities of the state will be generally more than enough. Due to this, the activities of political parties are regulated in modern legal systems indirectly, by regulating the manner of nominating and operating the organs of state authority, rather than directly. In this fashion, an indirect legal determination is made of one of the primary functions of a political party—the function of governing a state.

In a democratic system, the meaning of the function of governance may be twofold: firstly, in the literal sense, when a party, separately or in coalition with others, assumes the governing of a state by staffing the decisive

agencies of the state, and, secondly, when a party influences the leading organs indirectly, either by modifying their operations, or by creating conditions for a change of government, the latter situation being that of an opposition party.

In other systems, i.e. the national-socialist, the implementation of the governance function by a party was based on co-opting it to the system of state organs. A similar situation occurs in the Third World countries, especially those of a socialist orientation: the party, usually the sole party by constitution, has prerogatives, among other things, in designating candidates for president or ministers.

The comprehensive practice of parties discharging the state governance function by staffing the decisive state organs prompts us to consider the issue of a relationship between this power of the party and the sovereignty of the people, or, as the PRP constitution puts it, the working people of cities and villages.

Powers of Political Parties in a Democratic State

As Marek Sobolewski observes, the highest state agencies, within whose jurisdiction political decisions and nominations of executive personnel fall, are the direct holders of political power in a democratic state from the legal point of view. However, in the opinion of that author, this description is "strictly technical and inadequate because the thrust of operations by an agency hinges on the people and groups of people with express political leanings which it comprises. Hence, looking at this issue from the sociological point of view, or the perspective of political sciences, let us say that power belongs directly to political parties, because they staff these highest agencies of the state." This is, of course, true; however, to make the picture complete, we should add that this power of a political party in a democratic state belongs to it as if potentially, somehow in a state of suspension. After all, in order to staff the highest state agencies, the party must first submit to certain procedures governed by the provisions of law. This procedure is an election, the purpose of which is exactly to staff the supreme body in the system of government agencies (the government, the president), which in turn nominates individuals to other state agencies. In democratic states, submitting to such a procedure is a *sine qua non* condition of discharging political power by a party through the system of government organs. This procedure is nothing but an appeal for the support of citizens who, in the final count, are not prompted by any factors of a legal nature to give or withhold it, and, therefore, are sovereign. Therefore, discharging the state authority by a specific party is determined by attracting the support of citizens making their decision in an unfettered manner. In view of that, we may say, following Marek Sobolewski, that, despite power belonging directly to political parties, they are not sovereign in discharging this power. At this point, power and sovereignty in a democratic state are separated: the former is an attribute of a political party,

because it determines the thrust of operations by state organs, while the latter—an attribute of the entire citizenry, or else individual citizens. Ultimately, the result of elections consists of at least a majority of citizens agreeing that a specific party (or coalition of parties) represents the will of the state. This will assumes the form of comprehensively applicable legislation.

The Party as an Exponent of 'Objective Interest'

In a socialist state, Marxist authors build a model of so-called integral representation (see Wladyslaw Zabielski, *Przedstawicielstwo polityczne w PRL* [Political Representation in the PRP], Warsaw, 1973). "This is a representation whereby the will of the people is expressed by delegates in the interest of the entire society. (...) The obligation of the representatives to implement the will of the working people should be underscored in the model of socialist integral representation. Due to their similar class situation, the working people of cities and villages have the common objective interest and will to realize common aspirations and advance a joint program of political action. An election platform, which expresses the interests of the entire working people, reconciling group and societywide interests, becomes the form of revealing the will of the working people." It appears that the notion of objective interest is at the core of this model of representation. The author's conviction that such an interest exists is derived from ascertaining "the similar class situation" of the working people. With this state of affairs, it becomes apparent that there has to be only one electoral platform, because it is crystal clear that, if only the objective interest really exists, it cannot be expressed by several contradictory or even differing programs.

However, the consequences of accepting the concept of objective interest are more far-ranging and profound. The objective nature of this interest makes it basically impossible for a citizen (or working person) to determine it independently, because such a determination is marked by subjectivity, whereas the interest is objective. Besides, it does not result from independent expression, but from "the class situation," which for an individual is an external circumstance. The objective interest, therefore, is not formulated but discovered by a refined analysis of the class situation of the working people. Thus, it is something like a law of nature, it is something already there, that exists regardless of the knowledge, and even will, of individuals. The only issue remaining under these circumstances is that of the competence needed to discover the objective interest. An individual or group who has such competence assumes a supreme position both in society and the state, because it alone is capable of comprehending the secret and presenting a political program within the framework of integral representation. "The working people" are not sovereign in determining their objective interest, because, as I have already mentioned, the will of individuals has got nothing whatsoever to do with the content of this interest. Thus, if the will of an individual is totally unimportant

in determining the objective interest, the same may be said about the will of a very large number of individuals, which collectively are "the working people." In this situation, sovereignty is the attribute only of the body which has the competence to discover the objective interest, and then, due to the knowledge it possesses, not the will, after all.

The marxists say that a marxist party has such competence. Therefore, if we were to accept the concept of objective interest as correct, and its existence as certain, this brings us to the conclusion about the lack of sovereignty of "the working people." In turn, we would have to agree that the marxist party is the only sovereign, naturally, each in regard to its "working people." Incidentally, this last circumstance opens up an incredibly interesting field for exploring why the knowledge of the objective interest of working people is distributed in nature according to a political, and, therefore, absolutely artificial, criterion. Returning to the sovereignty of the marxist party, this view is also justified inasmuch as, according to Wladyslaw Zabielski, the form of revealing the will of the working people is found in the electoral platform, which proclaims this objective interest. Since "the working people" are not a corporate legal entity, they are restricted by the necessity to accept their objective interest announced in the electoral platform without reservation. Therefore, there is no theoretical possibility to withhold support from the party which declares this program, because even if someone, by some miracle, did such a thing and gave his support to a party advancing another program, he would do so in contravention of article 8, paragraph 1 of the constitution of the PRP. That is to say, discharging state authority by such a party (and, therefore, establishing laws through the organs of the state) would be in permanent conflict with the above article, which establishes that the laws of the PRP are an expression of the interests and the will of the working people, which means that these laws must be that way. Therefore, inasmuch as we can allow the thought that laws established by state organs staffed by a non-marxist party could be in line with the will of the working people, in no case would they be in line with their interest, especially the objective interest, because, as is known, only a marxist party can express the latter. This is known, because marxist parties have subscribed to this view for years with unflinching conviction, which to date no circumstances have shaken.

Party as the Leading Force in 'Socialist Construction'

Thus, if we accept the existence of objective interest, we must come to the conclusion that we cannot talk about the sovereignty of the working people of the PRP.

Therefore, let us attempt to look at the legal system from this point of view. Let us begin the analysis from article 3, paragraph 1 of the Constitution of the PRP, which establishes that the Polish United Workers Party is the

leading force of society in building socialism. The regulation so worded confers on the PZPR a legally privileged position compared to the entire society, including also "the working people," since "in the socialist state, the process of identification of the working people with the entire society occurs" (W. Zabielski, *op cit.*). Since this applies to the working people, it means that this also applies to all political and other organizations which these people have created or will create in the future, except the PZPR.

However, the function of the leading political force, with regard to the working people, is discharged by the PZPR only "in building socialism," rather than in general, i.e. in any possible situation. The question arises whether socialist construction belongs within the scope of power or is excluded from it. This question is important, because article 1, paragraph 2 of the constitution establishes that power in the PRP belongs to the working people of cities and villages. This provision applies to the power of the people in the state, and therefore, this power refers to all situations which might occur within the framework of the state, including socialist construction as well. Article 2 of the constitution specifies the manner in which the people discharge this power, by establishing that they discharge state power through their representatives elected to the Sejm of the PRP and people's councils. As article 2, paragraph 2 of the constitution specifies, these representatives remain, throughout the time of discharging their responsibilities, representatives of the people as such, and not only of one of its political organizations. This would suggest that the power of the people in the state is sovereign, because it applies to all spheres of state operations. Yet, article 3, paragraph 1 of the constitution introduces a departure from this, since in a particular sphere it excludes the sovereignty of the people in favor of its segment, that is, the PZPR. At this point, the exclusion of the sovereignty of the people becomes obvious, because socialist construction is not resolved and decided by the people through their representatives; such resolutions and decisions are legally restricted only for a certain segment of the people belonging to the PZPR. Since neither the constitution nor any other law states that the PZPR is a representative of the entire working people, we must accept that the sovereignty of the people is infringed on by article 3, paragraph 1 of the constitution. After all, it states that the PZPR is the leading political force of the society in building socialism—a political one, and thus the one exercising its leadership in socialist construction: in imperious forms. The extent of restrictions on the sovereignty of the people depends on what is behind the notion of "socialist construction."

In this reference, the legal content of the notion "socialism" needs to be explained. In article 1, the constitution states that the PRP is a socialist state. This can be understood in at least two ways: broadly, i.e. as saying that everything, whatever goes on in the PRP, is socialist, that is, all relationships in which citizens enter, within the state, form "socialism." This would involve

equally relations from the sphere of public law and private law, and even spheres not regulated by law, e.g. morality. The suggestion by the provision of article 4 of the constitution that not only the state, but also society is socialist would support this interpretation of socialism ("The development of socialist society is the basic goal of operations by the state"). Provisions of article 7 of the constitution refer to socialist democracy and socialist relations of production.

However, article 15, point 3 suggests that, on the other hand, the economy of the PRP is not entirely socialist, because individual farms are not socialist ("... enhances the ties of individual farms with the socialist national economy"). Further, article 19, point 1 refers to the "socialist [political] system," which expressly indicates that the legislator rather had in mind socialism in the narrower interpretation, meaning the organizational structure of the state, as a compulsory organization of society. I believe that in this sense we can talk about "a socialist society" and "a socialist state." Thus, only the elements which determine the nature of the state structure, or elements defining the state system, would be part of the content of the notion "socialism" in this narrower sense.

In the case of a broader interpretation of socialism, its "construction" could include virtually everything, and thus the political leadership of the PZPR would embrace all spheres of life, both public and private. In this event, talking about the sovereignty of the working people would make no sense at all. The PZPR would be the only sovereign, and a total one at that. However, it appears that it will be more correct to accept the narrower legal meaning of the notion "socialism" as the organizational structure of the state, primarily due to the aforementioned article 15, point 3 of the constitution. In this sense, "socialist construction" would include all undertakings aimed at designing, perpetuating or modifying the elements determining the state [political] system.

In accordance with article 3, paragraph 1 of the constitution, these fields would be legally reserved for the PZPR as the sphere of its exclusive imperious leadership. To clarify the picture, it should be stressed emphatically that the PZPR does not appear in this role on anybody's behalf or by anybody's authority. After all, according to this provision, society is but an object of its imperious leadership. Under these circumstances, it is obvious that "the working people" acting through "their representatives" have no opportunity to create, maintain or modify the state [political] system independently. They can only do that by subordinating themselves to the political leadership of the PZPR and executing the instructions issued by it even if they have not assumed the form of law. After all, the above provision places the imperious PZPR leadership somewhat apart from the state and the representative system operating in it. This has certain far-reaching consequences, on which more below.

Consequently, we must state that the power of the working people, referred to in article 1, paragraph 2 of the constitution, does not extend to the issues of systemic nature, because they are reserved exclusively for the PZPR as the subject of its monopoly.

In view of this, do the working people have any scope of sovereign power at all? The answer to this question must be negative. After all, if the state system is determined independently by the PZPR, then also all the manifestations of exercising power within the framework of this system, which, after all, amount to specifying or developing the basic systemic elements, are precisely nothing else but "socialist construction." In turn, in this sphere, the law explicitly and sternly commands society, and, therefore, "the working people," to submit to the imperious leadership of the PZPR. Therefore, we should also note that there is an irreconcilable contradiction between article 1, paragraph 2 and article 3, paragraph 1 of the constitution.

Who Can Be a Representative of 'the Working People'

An analysis of specific laws touching on the issues of exercising power confirms the existence of the contradiction ascertained. Pursuant to article 1, paragraph 1 of the law on elections to people's councils dated 13 February 1984, the working people elect as their representatives to people's councils citizens of an irreproachable moral and political attitude, involved in social work, providing a guarantee of duly carrying out the tasks engendered by the responsibilities of a councilman and fully approving of the principles of the socialist [political] system in the People's Republic of Poland.

It follows from the wording of this provision that all working people cannot elect just anybody as their representative to the people's councils. The contingent of [eligible] persons has been restricted in this instance. The last criterion of this restriction, namely, full approval of the social system in the PRP, is of particular interest to us. In light of what has already been said on determining the system and its imperious specification, the above criterion means that the contingent of potential representatives of the people in people's councils is restricted only to those persons who completely accept the PZPR political leadership in the state. After all, socialist construction in the PRP as a socialist state is the content of state life and of operations by the state authorities.

The same is the case with the criterion which the working people are supposed to use in electing their representatives to the Sejm: "The working people elect their representatives to the Sejm from among the citizens of an irreproachable moral and political attitude, involved in social work, providing a guarantee of duly exercising the responsibilities entrusted to them for the good of the constituents and the entire society, in agreement with the constitutional principles of the [political] system of the PRP" (article 1 of the law on elections to the Sejm of the PRP dated 29 May 1985).

To be sure, this provision does not straightforwardly demand a "complete approval" of the systemic [political] principles of the PRP, but the need for it follows indirectly from the requirement for "an irreproachable moral and political attitude" and a guarantee of "duly exercising the responsibilities entrusted" (to be sure, for the good of the constituents and the entire society, but only inasmuch as this good is not in conflict with "the constitutional principles of the [political] system of the PRP"). This guarantee, I would say, is self-explanatory, whereas "an irreproachable attitude" means nothing but complete, unhesitant and unreserved (no "blemishes") subordination to the political sovereign. Naturally, the PZPR is such a sovereign, because, apart from other considerations mentioned, article 3, paragraph 1 of the constitution amounts to *lex specialis* [special law] with regard to article 1, paragraph 1.

This view is further confirmed by article 1, paragraph 2 of the law on elections to people's councils and article 2 of the law on elections to the Sejm, which establish that the elections in both cases are held on the basis of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] electoral declaration, which provides "the foundation for national discussion" (article 2 of the law on elections to the Sejm).

According to article 3, paragraph 3 of the constitution, the PRON is "grounds for uniting society for the good of the PRP, as well as for the cooperation of political parties, social organizations and associations and citizens, irrespective of their worldview, in the matters of the operation and strengthening of the socialist state and the comprehensive development of the country." As I have already mentioned, the strengthening and, in general, functioning of the socialist state constitute "socialist construction." In turn, with regard to socialist construction, the situation is clear: on the one hand, political leadership of the PZPR, on the other—subordination of society to this leadership. In such a situation the PRON, from a legal standpoint, is an instrument, which facilitates subordinating society to the imperious PZPR leadership in building socialism, rather than the "grounds for uniting society." A similar position is sincerely taken by Andrzej Redelbach, writing, to be sure, about the FJN [National Unity Front]; however, we can apply his words to the PRON without fear of making a mistake: "The FJN is an auxiliary means of implementing the universal forms of exercising the leading role of the party. Within the FJN framework, the PZPR advances the program of action, which, as the FJN program, in the machinery of the election campaign, becomes the program of state." (Andrzej Redelbach, "Front Jedności Narodu—model i funkcjonowanie frontu narodowego [National Unity Front—A Model of Operation of a National Front], Warsaw, 1978).

Besides, we find a confirmation of this position in article 3, paragraph 2 of the constitution: "the alliance and cooperation of the PZPR with the ZSL [United Peasant

Party] and the SD [Democratic Party] in building socialism and their joint action with social organizations and associations subscribing to the principles of the [political] system of the PRP are the foundation of the PRON." To be sure, this provision refers to the alliance and cooperation between the PZPR, the ZSL and the SD, which would suggest that autonomous relations exist between these organizations. However, the added words "in building socialism" predetermine the nature of this cooperation, due to the directive included in article 3, paragraph 1 of the constitution. The need to accept "systemic principles" imposed on other organizations and associations in the sphere of legal consequences is tantamount to including the ZSL and the SD in building socialism—a legal duty to submit to the political leadership of the PZPR.

The regulations described above determine the contingent of people from among whom the representatives of "the working people of cities and villages" may be drawn. Article 100 of the constitution predetermines the mode of nominating candidates for [Sejm] deputies and councilmen from among the contingent described above, establishing that candidates for deputies and members of people's councils are nominated by political and social organizations uniting citizens in cities and villages. The directive of this regulation is generally justified by the fact that working people are not a corporate person, and, therefore, it is difficult to conceive of them as a single entity nominating their representatives. With regard to "the people," this view is certainly correct. However, this justification does not suffice to explain the lack of entitlement for citizens to nominate candidates (not "meetings of citizens," but just citizens). After all, unlike "the people," citizens are legal persons and, in addition, they have competency. Some of them also have active legal capacity; therefore, there are no considerations of a legal or technical nature standing in the way of endowing them with such powers. The reason for the lack of such entitlements will be explained in the course of further analysis of specific regulations in this sphere.

And so, according to article 48, paragraph 1 of the law on elections to people's councils and articles 42, 43 and 51 of the law on elections to the Sejm, not all organizations to which citizens belong in cities and villages have a right to nominate candidates. This right is enjoyed by the PZPR, the ZSL, the SD, the "PAX" Association, the ChSS [Christian Social Association] and the PZKS [Polish Catholic-Social Union]—which are the signatories to the declaration on the PRON dated 20 July 1982—as well as trade unions, socio-professional organizations of farmers, the ZBoWiD [Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy], socialist youth unions, the League of Polish Women, the PRON, the self-government bodies of urban and rural population and nationwide social organizations (for elections to the Sejm), or such organizations which operate at the place of residence or employment of voters, citizens advisory conventions of provincial council chairmen, and meetings of citizens called especially for this purpose by self-government organs or the PRON elements (for elections to councils).

To be sure, these regulations do not determine expressis verbis the political countenance of the organizations entitled to nominate candidates (except for the youth unions which have to be socialist). However, due to the fact that the elections are held based on the PRON electoral declaration, which is a strictly political one, it is known ahead of time which organizations may enjoy this right. These are organizations which either belong, or could belong to the PRON, that is, undertake "cooperation (...) in matters of operating and strengthening the socialist state," or get involved in building socialism, with all the legal consequences of this step. This follows, because they must endorse the PRON electoral declaration, and, therefore, must unconditionally submit to the political leadership of the PZPR.

Submission to the political leadership of the PZPR is thus a condition for securing the right to nominate candidates for deputies and councilmen. This sheds some light on the lack of such legal endowment for citizens. After all, the provisions of both the election law and the constitution would call for the need to require from them a declaration of submission to the political leadership of the PZPR, which would be awkward, due to various considerations—first of all, because it would be difficult to reconcile such a procedure with the principle of equality of citizens before the law, expressed by article 67, paragraph 2 of the constitution, all the more so because paragraph 1 of this article is an interpretative directive, ordaining a broad interpretation of civil rights; the PRP (...) "reinforces and broadens the rights and freedoms of citizens."

Legal Loyalty Requirement

The analysis of legal provisions on political parties in the PRP thus far suggests that the PZPR has a particularly privileged position in the Polish legal system, which may be identified with the position of a sovereign. This is predetermined by the socialist nature of the state. However, apart from it, this legal position of the PZPR is confirmed by specific laws. Provisions of the law dated 31 July 1985 on the service of SB [Security Service] and MO [Citizens Militia] members provide a particularly weighty argument in favor of such a view. Article 2, paragraph 1 of this law, specifying the traits which a member of the SB or MO should possess, mentions among them, along with "total dedication to the People's Republic of Poland," also "loyalty to the program of the Polish United Workers' Party." Article 34, paragraph 1 of this law, concerning the duties of the SB and MO members, ordains that "the member is duty-bound to faithfully serve the People's Republic of Poland, protect its constitutional systemic principles even at risk to his life and limb, and conscientiously execute the tasks set by the supreme organs of state authority and the government of the People's Republic of Poland, and following from the resolutions of the central organs of the Polish United Workers' Party." An additional broadening of these duties of members is found in article 4, paragraph 1 of the law, laying down the text of the oath: "I, a citizen

of the People's Republic of Poland, aware of the assumed obligations of a functionary in the service of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, pledge: to serve faithfully the socialist Motherland—the People's Republic of Poland, the Polish People and the Polish United Workers' Party" (...).

The quoted provisions of this law suggest that a certain group of state functionaries has a legal obligation of allegiance to the PZPR program, a legal obligation to serve the PZPR and a legal obligation to execute tasks resulting from resolutions of the central organs of the PZPR, or simply to carry out the instructions contained in these resolutions. This law, and in particular its article 34, paragraph 1, equates central organs of the PZPR with the government organs, and resolutions of the PZPR CC and the PZPR CKKP [Central Party Control Commission]—with laws and executive orders by the Council of Ministers. Let us note that this no longer is the traditional way of discharging the function of governance by the party through staffing the key state organs. The law in question suggests that—at least in this sphere—central organs of the PZPR have secured a legal opportunity to address their instructions directly to the functionaries of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, thus to all the personnel of this ministry, and thus to the entire Ministry of Internal Affairs, without the need to give to their instructions the form of law generally in effect.

Consequences

Thus, a different situation developed in 1973, when the resolution of the 1st National Conference of the PZPR ordained that the first secretaries of local PZPR committees were to assume the posts of chairmen of respective people's councils, and chiefs of the ZSL and SD echelons—those of their deputies. The PZPR, which had a majority in people's councils, could carry out this resolution by using the procedure envisaged by article 50 of the constitution: the councils (...) elect boards. In the case of the law on service by SB and MO members, the situation is different—article 34, paragraph 1 does not envisage the need for any procedure with regard to carrying out the tasks following from party resolutions. This clearly is in conflict with article 8, paragraph 3 of the constitution, which requires that all organs of power and state administration act on the basis of legal provisions. It is evident that the above law undermines this constitutional principle by obligating SB and MO functionaries to carry out tasks outside of the law.

However, regardless of evaluating the legality of article 34, paragraph 1, article 1, paragraph 2 and article 4, paragraph 1 of the above law, the tendency taking shape in the legal system of the PRP in this field is important. It consists of enhancing directly or indirectly the privileged legal position of the PZPR and strives to gradually obscure the difference between state agencies and the organs of the PZPR, and between the legal norms and the rules created by this party. This is intended to reinforce the position of the PZPR as a political sovereign and give

its organs the position of state organs of sorts with regard to decision-making authority, but without the attendant constitutional responsibility.

The law on higher education dated 4 May 1982 (uniform text—DZIENNIK USTAW No. 42/1985, item 201) exemplifies this tendency. The provisions contained therein impose a duty on the management of colleges to act "in concert" or instructs them "to cooperate" with the college echelons of the PZPR and the so-called [other] political parties in managing the school (article 59, paragraph 3 and article 132, paragraph 1 of the law). The legal duty to act "in concert" or the duty "to cooperate" amounts to the necessity to achieve harmony or bring about such cooperation, and this duty devolves on the management of the college, because party organs are not at all legally obligated by the law "to cooperate." This means that the law, by regulating the duties of a college administrator in this manner, actually and formally subordinates him to the local party organization, because its will determines when the "concert" occurs or when "cooperation" comes about. Since rectors of state colleges are state officials within the sphere of their management, we also have to do in this instance with an evident, not to use the word "intensive," obscuring of the line between state officials and the party apparatus.

A similar situation occurs in nominations to positions in the state service, economic administration, cooperatives, etc., for which there is a need (?) or a custom (?) "to have the candidates endorsed" by respective PZPR organs. I do not discuss this duty in more detail, because no state promulgatory act lays down the laws from which such a duty could result. However, this phenomenon is widely known as the nomenclature.

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Dzielski on Economic Reform, Industrial Society Activities

26000511 Warsaw LAD in Polish No 23, 5 Jun 88 p 3

[Interview with Miroslaw Dzielski, president, Krakow Industrial Society, by Witold Gadomski]

[Text]

[Question] Do you see yourself as a conciliatory politician?

[Answer] To me conciliation means readiness to compromise with people in power in the political sphere. Under present Polish circumstances it means political patience and resigning oneself to the fact that in the foreseeable future, ruling elites will emerge from, as I call it, the substance of human authority.

But readiness does not mean resigning oneself to the system in its traditional form, with its collectivist values. In this sphere I see myself as a bigger radical than most political radicals. I have not always been a conciliator. I

started being a conciliator when I came to the conclusion that [censored material][Law of 31 July 1981 on the control of publications and exhibitions art 2 par 2 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20 item 99, amended 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44 item 204)]. The possibility for consensus is being outlined with people in authority around the idea of reform of the system. Reform of the system must be quick, thorough and safe. Changes of this kind require joint action by Poles striving for change, regardless of whether they are in the government camp or the opposition.

System reform is first of all a change from an ordered economy to a market economy. The freedoms this change brings will be the basis for gradual expansion of political freedoms in the future. But in my opinion, one should wait with political freedoms, in their fullest sense, in the name of state stability during the difficult transitional period, which may last a long time. The Polish nation has won religious and cultural freedoms for itself. Now the time has come for economic freedoms. Democratization should occur as far as is necessary to implement economic reforms.

[Question] Are you truly convinced that the authorities want economic reform. Do they know prefer that everything stay the way it was?

[Answer] We must note two things here. First, the ordered, distributive economy has declined all over the world. Today no one believes in its advantages. This is a totally new situation. And ideas, as you know, have overwhelming power. Second is the choice facing the Polish ruling elites. The time has long passed when the authorities had a choice between reform and leaving everything as it has been. Today's choice is between reform and cataclysm. That is why reform lies in everyone's interest, including people in authority. It appears that this is a fact that is more and more universally perceived in Poland.

[Question] But does reform lie in everyone's interest?

[Answer] Well of course there is a group of people who will lose on reform. They are countless representatives of the bureaucracy. It would be worthwhile to pay this people off, according to the American custom, the so-called golden parachute. It would be necessary to ease the fall of a great number of bureaucrats in this way here. This would pay even on a broad scale. As far as the remaining part of the government apparatus is concerned, especially the militia, the political apparatus, the military, these groups can only gain from reform; if only for reasons of their own interest, they can become advocates of change, especially when they realize the costs of not introducing it.

[Question] Permitting economic freedoms means that the whole of social reality gradually escapes from under control.

[Answer] That is true. But this can be a very slow process. Even if the government is not always in a position to determine its rate, it is in a position to adapt to it. It may be a process spread out over many years.

[Question] When people are involved in earning money, they will not think about revolution. But when conditions for producing wealth are not created in Poland and the bureaucracy is permitted to continue ruling, then revolution is certain. Bureaucracy and revolution are siamese twins. Why, given this, is there no reform?

[Answer] No doubt the reasons are numerous. I will offer three. First, although very few believe in an ordered economy, this does not at all mean that people think in economic terms. For example, many people, not only those from government circles, believe that an increase in national wealth is dependent on maximizing production, because the more production, the more wealth. This leads to the attitude that the government should be active in the economy, that it should continually stimulate something, regulate something. People who think like this naturally cannot make reforms. The second issue is the system of special interests in which our entire economy is entangled, which is administered by the bureaucracy living from its control of the economic process. The third question is the customs and habits formed over the years.

These attitudes, habits, customs and interests can be broken only by a strong central government operating in the general national interest and capable of operating in the name of that interest.

The government's aims and experiments seem to be going in this direction. But they are inconsistent aims and experiments that up to now have been unsuccessful. The government has wasted many years. If it had actually introduced in 1981 what it is barely proposing today, it would have many supporters today and would not have to fear catastrophe. Perhaps the government did not have adequate power. So much the worse both for the government and for us.

[Question] You did not mention strikes when talking about reasons for the lack of reform. Minister Urban believes otherwise. He talks about the responsibilities of striking employees.

[Answer] Minister Urban is most likely referring to political, not economic, responsibility. Let us take the Lenin Foundry in Krakow as an example. The prices of coal the foundry uses are established by the state, the price of electricity is set by the state, the state determines the prices of ore. The state establishes steel prices. Under these circumstances, who can know how much a foundry employee should earn? When the foundry really makes a profit, when does it incur losses? One might be able to talk about responsibility if the foundry operated on the market and were truly independent. Under circumstances where a plant has no freedom, one cannot

demand responsibility from its employees. This kind of demand is meaningless because of a lack of criteria for responsibility. But demanding political responsibility from strikers is sensible. However, primary political responsibility currently rests with the government. It is necessary to civilize the resolution of conflict and to use shock to overcome the bureaucracy's resistance to market reform. When plants become essentially independent, when they compete on the market, when the economy is depoliticized, then one can demand economic responsibility from employees. But this would require regulation of issues of ownership and suspension of control over prices, wages, the flow of goods, etc.

Changes of this kind could already have been introduced several times in many areas. The good operation of the fruit and vegetable market is commonly known. On this market, producers compete with each other, thanks to which prices increase less than on regulated markets and there is never a shortage of goods. This happens despite the fact that the fruit and vegetable market is seriously unsettled because of its contact with the regulated economy (the purchase of fertilizers, machines, etc.), whose prices increase faster and where products are in short supply. If a free market for meat had been introduced and the mechanism of competition had been set in motion instead of increasing meat prices in 1982, we would have as much meat as we have vegetables in the stores, and at low prices for which the government would not have to answer, just as today it does not answer for the price of carrots. But such a decision would require erecting large meat processing plants as prey for the competition of small private and cooperative butcher shops. Likewise with milk and dairy products. As it turns out, the government did not have enough political power to break the resistance of the appropriate bureaucracies. I suspect that thinking in terms of maximizing production instead of in terms of maximizing profit on the part of individual producers, which is one method leading to maximization of production where it is truly needed, had rather major significance too.

Instead of launching successive markets, the government raises prices, e.g., continues to determine prices. One need not even look at economic results to see that this is absurd. It is no wonder that people are protesting. I would say more. It would be wrong if they did not object in this situation.

The political assumptions associated with strikes are another matter. If I were to strike, I would demand swift implementation of economic reform from the government. But people with this kind of mentality generally do not strike. People who strike generally have other kinds of goals, which need not exclude economic reform. It would be good if the current strife did not turn into revolution, which would threaten the good of the nation, including the good of the state. I can only express the hope that it will not come to that. Fortunately, we have the authority of the church guided by a wise primate, there is cautious Walesa. I am counting on the common

sense of the authorities [censored material][Law of 31 July 1981 on the control of publications and exhibitions art 2 par 2 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20 item 99, amended 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44 item 204)].

[Question] The opposition demands union pluralism and more democracy.

[Answer] In my opinion, the basic political task today is economic reform. This is change that is possible, because it is change in the spirit of changes occurring throughout the world. Without this reform, Poland will become not only an unfortunate country and the laughing stock of nations, but will also become a source of political anarchization in all of Central Europe, which can cause disruption of the political balance in this region. If the government itself were in a position to manage reform, I would personally be inclined to wait for democratization of political life. Economic freedoms and freedoms in the sphere of human rights associated with them are, in my opinion, especially today, more important than civil rights. But if the government were aware that on its own it is not in a position to mobilize appropriate political resources to carry out reform, it should try to institutionalize the opposition within such legal limits that its activity could contribute to progress in the direction of reform—in the direction of breaking the resistance of the bureaucracy. As far as the trade unions are concerned, as you know we liberals are not admirers of trade unions. But if unions must exist, then it is better to have more than less of them. No doubt the government fears the power of the trade unions and their wishful thinking in the area of wages. The only recourse for counteracting this is rapid economic reforms that offer a chance for the development of new, dynamic industry without trade unions. That is how it is happening throughout the world. In Krakow there is the Lenin Foundry, once the hope, now the curse of the authorities. If a free market economy were to emerge, a powerful tourist industry would grow in Krakow, hundreds of small hotels and restaurants and foreign service would develop. In the FRG today, for example, it does not pay to repair television sets, because labor is too expensive. My friend, who is an expert on foreign color televisions, told me there are entire plants employing Poles there. He said it would be most profitable to haul the televisions in trucks to Poland and back after repairs. Likewise with automobiles. And where is the garment industry, from which the Italians are gradually withdrawing because of the already excessive costs of labor. From the output of all these services and industries, one could buy as much of the best steel as the foundry is able to produce. There would be places to employ people. And there would be no trade unions in all these new firms. In competing for employees and capital, the foundry would either have to change or fail.

[Question] It is said that the Krakow Industrial Society is participating in work on a project for a market experiment in Krakow.

[Answer] Thanks to the policy of the local authorities we were able to generate a political climate in which joint work on concrete projects was possible. We and government members of the Society for Support of Economic Initiatives [TWIG] are participating in this work. We very much appreciate this cooperation. Because of it, we had the opportunity to convince ourselves that TWIG is truly a proreform movement and of exceptional importance because it operates in the government camp. We are pleased that we can cooperate with them. For Poland, such cooperation by everyone in implementing reform is a matter of *raison d'etat*. Unfortunately I am afraid that neither we nor they are lucky. The difficult political work on closer relations may be spoiled by events that will again push us into opposing camps. We will do everything to prevent this from happening, but the growing conflict can seriously harm organic work of this kind, delicate by nature and requiring a placid political climate. But even if nothing comes of this idea, there will still be something that can produce unexpected fruit in the future. In 1981 in Nowa Huta we began work with Marian Kania on a program for the foundry in the socio-economic field. It was a liberal program, an alternative to the self-management program. The program gained a certain prominence, but the events that soon followed seemed to cancel out all hopes. Yet a few years later, the Krakow Industrial Society grew out of this subsoil.

[Question] A final question. How are relations between the Krakow Industrial Society and the initiators of the Economic Society in Warsaw.

[Answer] Very good. In our first opinion we expressed our support for that initiative. We feel that the registration of the Economic Society is a barometer of the credibility of the government's reform program.

[Question] With what is the society involved on a day to day basis?

[Answer] We confer awards for economic publishing, we offer public lectures, we provide free advice for beginning entrepreneurs, we carry on club and social activities and intervention, we express opinions—mainly on government actions in the economic sphere, and we have established a school for entrepreneurs. It seems to me that our most worthwhile achievements so far are our opinions and the school for entrepreneurs. Our opinions have been discussed extensively in both the government and church press. Thanks to the church press they have made their way to Western publications, and thanks to the government press to publications printed in the countries of Eastern Europe. Because of these opinions we have the opportunity to shape the society as a center for crystalizing certain attitudes and behaviors that our circle sees as worthwhile. The entrepreneurs' school emerged as a result of the success of public lectures offered by our experts. The lectures dealt with very practical problems: how to start building one's own home, how to establish a private firm, how to set up a

work cooperative. We adopted the assumption that our lecturers should be people who had carried out these undertakings successfully, not theoreticians. The entrepreneurs' school is a six month course offering the legal, administrative, economic and practical bases for initiating activity by someone who does not have experience to that extent.

[Question] What plans for the future?

[Answer] I prefer not to talk about plans. It is hard to foresee which of them can be implemented.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

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Krol Advocates Dialogue as Only Solution to Socioeconomic Crisis
26000451 *Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 26, 26 Jun 88 p 3*

[Article by Marcin Krol: "Political Education"]

[Text] A half year ago in TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY I tried to call attention to the need to think in terms of the long run, and called attention to the fact that limiting oneself to the short run would have catastrophic results for all those participating in public life. And we just had a catastrophe. I do not hesitate to use this word in view of events in May, though this was not a catastrophe with fatalities, but rather like an accident after which a person suppresses extreme discouragement toward the car in which he was riding, and loses hope that sequential repairs will help somewhat and would be most happy to sell it at once on the open market [na giełdzie] to the first gullible [buyer].

Only one thing was learned: how not to lead up to uncontrolled development of a situation or to unpredictable results. This is good. What was not learned, however, was how to bring about a positive outcome, beneficial to all, to a conflict, such as a conflict over deciding how to use a completely natural element of collective life for the common good. It is precisely this lack of progress in education which awakens such a feeling of hopelessness. I state the facts, yet I know what the reasons are and I have no pretensions; I know how hard it is to learn things only theoretically, but the lack of progress in political education is a fact, and we have some business to settle with such a state of affairs.

I am always hoping that the government wants effective economic reform as quickly as possible. Nevertheless, all that was achieved in this period appears to be inadequate in the area of legal-economic facts and already is simply unsatisfactory in the area of politics and effect on public opinion. An example of exceptional propaganda—political incompetence was the referendum, but this was only

a single example of the general principle. The government's policy is unclear, inconsistent, and geared toward the short run, whereas reform must be geared toward the long run, as far as is generally possible.

Like every other citizen of this country I feel completely lost in a sea of figures, plans for curbing inflation, taxation changes, and legal changes. To this I often hear the reply that the reform must be based on the idea that the changes will be spontaneous, that it won't be feasible for all, and even should not predominate. This is fine, but as before the one absolutely evident fact is price changes and wage increases. It is not known who wins and how much is won from this. In any case I am one of those who was the loser during the reform and price increases.

Why do the presumed good intentions of the economic authorities bring such paltry positive results? If in general they bring positive results I don't know why, for I do not know whom to believe, with what to compare it, or what to expect. First of all, this is because complete informational chaos predominates. The vast majority of dissatisfied citizens in this country are bedeviled not so much by the increases but by the lack of clarity as to how, when, and on what basis things can be better. For some time past journalists have been repeating after Bronislaw Geremek that it is necessary to negotiate an anticrisis pact. And I agree to that. But I do not know who is supposed to negotiate with whom, about what, and under which conditions? It is said that matters should be raised clearly and in a manly fashion. Well and good, but why does no one present them to us this way?

Public consultations, referenda, and all stop-gap politico-propagandistic endeavors have exactly the opposite effect. They cloud the already unclear picture of the situation. It would be interesting to read the commentaries by government publicists referring to the referendum. After all, no one knew how one should explain its results. Yet each one knows (and certainly every sociologist, of which we actually have too many in Poland, already knows) and if one asks the unclear question, one received an even more unclear answer. So what was learned as a result of the lost-won referendum? The purpose of the reform and the bases for implementing it are so mixed up with numbers, prices, percentages in PKO [General Savings Bank], etc., that they have completely disappeared from sight.

We really do not want too much; we want to know what will result after 5 years if we consciously lower our standard of living by so-and-so much for 5 years. And if this is not known, if the probable reform is achieved and could not be anticipated, and if some reasonable hypothesis cannot be formulated, then the proper thing to do would be to admit this. I believe that the recently passed special powers for the government constitute a form of indirect admission that they themselves do not know and that they will not manage. Only why was this not said

directly? How long can they take us all for children, or rather dying old men, where the family talks of neither diseases nor of quarrels to spare their feelings.

It is often repeated that taking risks is necessary. The authorities here and there admit a willingness to take risks which they have not been permitted to undertake, in their opinion, because of the existence of a group which opposes reform and which is on the lookout for the least failure. Perhaps, but what of it? A result of this is simply a deduction that it is necessary to appeal to the advocates of change, to those who support it and in this way reduce the risk. Where and who appealed to such groups so numerous in Poland? Where and who tried to have serious, man-to-man negotiations, as official journalists love to call these, with real representatives of specific pressure groups. For after all there are such pressure groups in Poland which represent real, serious interests. These are, for example, all the actually existing trade unions, which must have a pluralistic character in order to fulfill their function, and world-wide this is an essential function within the framework of an economy. It is a function of the economic organization of the wage and labor market, and a better method for this has not been devised. There exist private enterprises, and fortunately they are more and more numerous. And where is their representation, which could negotiate tax matters, employment limits, and absurd legal regulations?

Many other such economic and social pressure groups exist; however, consultations etc. are conducted with all of society—in other words, with magma—at the same time, and these consultations must be ineffective as long as real legal and physical people do not participate in them. And, though it is not my task to make the authorities' lives easier, it would be possible to introduce reform much more peacefully if it were known that such a discussion would bring real and lasting consequences in the form of bilateral commitments. The example of recent strikes showed clearly—let the strikes be illegal, although I do not understand what this means, for a strike is what it is and that's that—that it is not known how we could have negotiated an anticrisis pact, since there are no accountable partners. The example of these strikes also confirms forcefully my hypothesis that a feeling of hopelessness chiefly prevails. How much time is needed in order to understand or to comprehend that real partners, not imaginary ones, are necessary for some kind of agreement?

Partners who turn up by themselves (for example, the Warsaw Economic Society) waste energy on endless squabbles about registration, although their tasks are apolitical. The state of universal fatigue has deepened so much that all present attempts aimed at having representatives of the government and representatives of the so-called public sit down at the same table appear unreal. The only possible formula is to have actual negotiations with groups that are internally compact. I can negotiate if I know that people whom I know, value, and respect

are sitting on my side; on the other hand, I cannot risk the loss of clarity of individual opinions in bodies whose tasks and powers are unclear.

The rising numbers of emigrants is often pointed out, and this disturbs everyone on Poland. But still these are really the most dynamic ones, who have lost all hope. Emigration aimed at improving an individual's material situation exists worldwide, but only in Poland and in Third World countries does it rise to such massive proportions. Consequently neither this nor that stage of economic reform is necessary, but a radical change in the political style of government. Government representatives are saying more and more willingly how important psychology is, however, behind their words is always the conviction that psychology is not an objective fact, but a less substantial, subjective phenomenon. And so it is not true; psychology is an objective fact. This objective fact is connected to the tradition of "solidarity," no matter whether the consequences of this fact are fitting and rational. So how long can such objective facts be disregarded? The strikers themselves showed a certain restraint in this area. Poles are indeed a completely sensible people, and they know where they live. They are observing the changes in the Soviet Union with great interest, joining with them in hope, while not expressing unrealized demands at the present time.

It would be worthwhile to appreciate this restraint, and above all it would be worth using this inclination to reason, for really such a mental attitude and this objective fact could pass by. A method of utilizing this may involve only the gradual acceptance of existing partners, and making it possible for existing opinions and opinion-making groups to organize their own position and their own community, so that there would be someone with whom to negotiate. Otherwise the always unclear decisions of the government will meet with equally changeable and unclear responses from opposition circles.

I am writing this text and am bored with my own writing, for I already am deeply convinced that nothing will come of it. Of course, the road of little tiny steps still exists, and here and there something occurs to this degree, some economic privileges undergo a certain broadening, and civil liberties are also relatively significant. However, there is constantly a "prepolitical" state and—enough make-believe already—without political changes the little steps will remain very tiny, and the economy will not rise from its sluggishness. Years pass, and the only thing we have learned in the first place is to acquire for ourselves and for our own small social groups some fragment of our own public territory and, in the second place, that any fundamental negotiations must take place under conditions such that complete clarity of the subject is assured, as is the actual representative character of the negotiators and the unmistakable practical consequences of the agreements obtained. We will greet all other "democratizing" initiatives with no hope of results on a national scale.

What might be the next step taken toward special powers for the government? Only conversion to an extremely centralistic economy when the government takes upon itself the entire burden of deciding what is and what is not profitable, and the public is forced into the ruthless execution of their decisions. If the reform does not remove these special powers in a spectacular way, only this eventuality remains. Thus I propose that special political powers for both the government and for citizens be passed so that eventually the mechanism of joint decisionmaking by partners on the fate of the country would be set in motion. Without this we will continue to go in circles around basic misunderstandings.

13324/12232

State Election Commission Issues Report on People's Council Elections

26000579b Warsaw *RZECZPOSPOLITA* in Polish
28 Jun 88 p 2

[Text] The State Election Commission's (SEC) report prepared for the Council of State on the elections to the people's council which were held on 19 June, is almost 30 pages long. This report, which was accepted at the Commission's 27 June meeting, discusses in detail all of the functions, described in the electoral law, over which the Commission exercised supervision. In giving assistance to the commissions at all levels, nine times it issued various sets of guidelines, held six meetings, and its inspectors visited all of the voivodships five times.

To conduct elections to the councils at all levels, 31,412 elections districts were formed, including, in accordance with the amended elections law, one- and two-post districts. In discussing the course of the elections, it is stated that 55.1 percent of those eligible voted in the elections to the voivodship people's councils, and 54.8 percent voted for councils members at the primary level.

One post for the voivodship people's council in Slupsk was not filled because two candidates got the same number of votes. New elections will be held there on Sunday, 10 July.

On the other hand, 38 fewer people than had been anticipated in the resolutions of the pertinent voivodship people's councils, were elected to councils at the primary level. In 11 cases the reason was the same as in Slupsk—candidates received the same number of votes. There, too, by 10 July, new elections will be held.

Four posts for councillors in gmina people's councils remain unfilled because of printing errors on the ballots—candidate's names were omitted. In another gmina people's council, one post was not filled because the persons who declared their candidacy immediately prior to the elections, withdrew their consent.

However, in relation to 22 posts for the gmina people's council in Kolbudy in Gdansk Voivodship, the gmina and district elections commissions refused to validate the election results, stating that the number of ballots removed from the ballot box was greater than the number of voters checked off when the ballots were handed out. In all of these cases, the applicable commissions say that they will lodge at protest with the SEC.

Over the course of the entire campaign, the Commission received 120 letters and complaints.

The SEC members also spoke of the need to give full and accurate information on the collective results of voting and the elections in the individual voivodships, in accordance with the rules of the electoral law and the Commission's guidelines, as was done, for example, in Ciechanow Voivodship. The Commission also sent its thanks to the members of the commissions at the lower levels for their cooperation in preparing the elections to the people's councils on 19 June.

9295

Health Minister on Changes in Hospital Care, Costs

26000532 Warsaw *RZECZPOSPOLITA* in Polish
22 Jun 88 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Prof Janusz Komender, Minister, Health and Social Welfare, by Joanna Trepkowska: "Economic Health Care"]

[Text] The health care industry is preparing itself for the difficult operation of inoculating the principles of the economic reform into the health service. Will this operation succeed? Soon we all shall see. Today *RZECZPOSPOLITA* interviews the Minister of Health and Social Welfare, Professor Janusz Komender, on the state of health care and the prospects of the reform.

[Question] Mr Minister, when will zero hour finally arrive for the reform of the health service? For there the reform still continues to be in the planning stage, while health care surely requires deeds.

[Answer] If the reform is to accomplish its purposes, it must first of all be worked out completely, and those who shall apply it should be convinced of the validity of the new solutions. I believe that the time spent on its discussion is not time wasted. As to why that time is so long, I find that difficult to answer. But I can tell what we have been doing since last November. First of all, we drafted more specific assumptions of the reform and coordinated it with nearly all the political elements in this country. We conducted dozens of community meetings. The PZPR Central Committee Politburo and the ZSL [United Peasant Party] Supreme Committee also have already taken a position on it. The timetable for the government's legislative work also includes specific

deadlines as to when we should submit recommendations for amending the law and what they should be. In addition, we have reorganized the ministry and commenced training employees in the economics of health service.

[Question] Shortcomings of the existing health care system can be perceived at nearly all its levels. But it is at its worst in basic health care, which still does not cope with its designated role.

[Answer] I believe that things are not that bad. For I think that the farther basic health care is from Warsaw and from other large urban clusters, the more effective it is. In large cities there is considerable personnel turnover, sometimes reaching 40 percent on the annual scale. This is bound to influence the quality and continuity of health care.

[Question] Experts at health care organizations claim that in countries where basic health care copes with its tasks, e.g., in Great Britain, Holland, or Finland, the employees of that service are remunerated much better than their colleagues in hospitals.

[Answer] In this country that is probably a matter of education; the general opinion is that the post of the regional physician is inferior. This surprises me, because, based on observations over the years and on the experience of many other countries, I am of the opinion that the position of the rayon physician, the physician who makes home visits, should be a valued professional and social position.

Many attempts have already been made to improve this situation by, among other things, increasing the emoluments. The effects of all these attempts are incomplete. But I hope that the application of new economic solutions linked to the reforming of the entire health care system will also result in changes in basic health care.

[Question] What will these changes be like?

[Answer] First of all, the duties of the regional physician will be completely different. At present, instead of treating patients, he often and to a large extent sends them to specialists and for various and, believe me, not always necessary tests. Once the reform begins to be applied in health care, the regional physician will have at his disposal funds for caring for his patients. He will use these funds to pay specialists for every consultation. It will therefore be in his interest to treat patients conscientiously in accordance with his actual qualifications so that most of these funds would remain with his office.

Second, the application of the new economic principles will prompt a major regrouping of medical professionals. I believe that this will be largely to the benefit of basic health care.

[Question] And what changes are to be expected in in-patient, hospital care?

[Answer] The same changes. There too cost effectiveness will apply, with the various departments settling mutual accounts for all the services they provide: for the hemoderivative preparations received from the blood donor stations, for the means of transportation used, and for recommended highly specialized tests or specialist consultations.

Plans also exist for classifying hospitals according to the actual qualifications of their employees and the effectiveness of their treatment. A lower classification will be assigned to, e.g., a hospital or clinic at which only elementary surgery is performed. If a surgical team is capable of independently performing, say, thoracic surgery or grafting and operates with high-level diagnostic resources, we shall raise its classification upon the recommendation of a supervising group of specialists. In my opinion, this will be both an incentive for improving professional qualifications and an obstacle to too-hasty assignment of patients to clinics and institutes.

I would like the reform, this entire new system, to be oriented in favor of industrious people. However, such intentions are in consonance with many laws, including the labor law code.

[Question] Which of the existing regulations would you like to change first?

[Answer] Above all, I would place no limitations on the duration of employment of physicians and nurses at their principal workplaces. If a physician so desires, let him work part-time or even full time—if he has health and stamina—in his own hospital or clinic in his off-duty hours. After all, that is what he is doing even now, except that he loses extra time and energy on travel to and fro. That is a way of making money by moonlighting, quite understandable besides. I believe that every employee should have the opportunity to earn a suitable salary at his place of work, and that there his qualifications should be properly appreciated. The currently applied solutions do not provide the same sickness-leave, vacation-leave, and retirement-pension entitlements.

I am also in favor of abolishing the restrictions on the budgets of health service units in the sense that I would like them to be practically free of line items. Then the health care administrators would be able to expend funds in accordance with the actual needs of their units as based on horse sense.

[Question] To whom would you entrust these funds?

[Answer] Of course, the head administrator, the one who directs the unit and is responsible for it, should decide on the utilization of funds. If he is unwilling, he may appoint a team of advisers who would accept his plans

and offer their own recommendations. In the currently discussed assumptions we envisage that role for the so-called community health councils.

[Question] Mr Minister, has the problem of obtaining funds to support the activities of the health service been resolved? For it is obvious that no reform can succeed without adequate funding.

[Answer] Not everything has been completely decided. At present the funds for our activities are derived from the central [state] budget and to some extent from local sources. But we believe that other ways of complementing the available funds should also be permitted. We are thinking of, for example, personal health insurance—certain payments by citizens. However, such a solution would require broader social consultation, perhaps even in the form of a referendum.

[Question] Do you think that in the new situation the monopoly of socialized health care should continue to be protected at any price? After all, totally new initiatives are arising, e.g., the proposal for building a private hospital in Lodz.

[Answer] We lack as yet an unambiguous concept of the model of health service. Is it to be almost exclusively state health care, with medical cooperatives and private physicians being rather rare? Or should we agree to the opening of private hospitals? The laws in force permit, upon the consent of local authorities, the establishment of private health service centers. But on the other hand the same laws require of the physician that he work 8 hours a day in socialized health care before he can work on his own. I believe that the decision on the model of health service should be made by the political elements.

[Question] And what about competition?

[Answer] Competition would exist if different [state and private] kinds of health care centers would operate in every district. If there are to be only a few private health care centers in the country as a whole, it is difficult to speak of competition. Then, too, another question that we will have to resolve is whether we can agree to the further stratification of the society through the establishment of health care centers which only the rich can afford? I cannot conceive of a situation in which, say, the ZUS [Social Insurance Administration] would reimburse privately insured patients for hospitalization costing some 20,000 zlotys daily.

[Question] Well then, Mr Minister, does this mean that we will have to await a moment when the experts will know the answers to all the difficult questions before the reform is translated into reality?

[Answer] Of course not. Even when it seems to us that all the problems are solved, new problems are bound to arise. We will not either avoid the risk of making mistakes. So far as my views are concerned, I can hardly

imagine the possibility of a further wait. But there also exists another factor, namely, among health service employees the consensus is that their work is underappreciated, as reflected in, among other things, their low pay, low compared with other professional groups. Does such an atmosphere promote commencing the reform?

1386

PRON Blames Government Departments for Housing Problems

26000585f Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
1 Jul 88 p 5

[Text] The government housing construction program has become the joint program of everyone to whom an improvement in the country's housing situation is important. The universality of support for the program gives its originators and executors the duty to see that it is fully implemented. This is not just a moral duty, it is also a political question.

None of the past housing programs was ever completed. There were always excuses and explanations. "The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth," said Roman Nowicki, chairman of the Housing Policy and Construction Committee in PRON's National Council, at a meeting with journalists, "wants to make every effort to finally make this program a success. PRON has approved it and now wants to see concrete action follow the decisionmaking."

Unfortunately, the first threats to its implementation, according to PRON activists, are already beginning to appear. After a few months, it has been observed that attempts are being made to act in the old way—to kill many initiatives by discussing them to death. A classic example of this is the general survey of land for construction. It was expected that after this survey, local authorities would make every effort to obtain additional land. Yet, as indicated from the preliminary summary of this action, the importance of this problem was not understood in many voivodships and not one step forward was made. On the contrary, on the scale of the entire country, there is a 20-percent shortage of land for current housing construction, and about 20 percent for construction next year. In other words, the problem was disposed of by using the excuse that it is impossible to solve. The entire matter was treated in a bureaucratic way and the effects are the same as years ago.

Another problem—building materials. Here, too, according to PRON, we are dealing with many sham motions. The program speaks of stimulating greater production of building materials, but almost nothing is being done on the decisionmaking level. The proof of this is seen in the materials available on the market. Production is dropping steadily and the necessary incentives for crafts to expand it are lacking. The drop in

production is seen very clearly in every production assortment. However, investments by enterprises, usually very materials-intensive, are growing.

PRON would rather sound the alarm right now, since it sees no clear support for housing construction on the part of other branches of the national economy. The problem of solving the question of housing for the people is constantly being passed on to the construction enterprises. Yet none of the economic ministries have given assistance, in the form of materials, to those construction enterprises. None of these ministries feels a joint responsibility for construction in the country.

Usually after another program for solving the housing construction problem was announced, an appeal was made for many quiet months in which to implement it, and then it turned out that these months were wasted. This time, PRON wants to bring about a situation in which all threats to the housing construction program will be eliminated immediately, as they arise. This program must end successfully.

9295

Catholic Intellectuals Criticize Sejm Activities

Open Letter Decries Special Powers

26000563 Warsaw LAD in Polish
No 30, 24 Jul 88 pp 12-13

["A Letter to the Speaker of the Sejm" under the rubric "Letters"]

[Text] Professor Wojciech Laczowski sent us a copy of the letter, which was addressed on 25 May to Speaker of the Sejm Roman Malinowski. (From the Editors)

The passage on 11 May 1988 of the Decree on Special Powers and Authorizations for the Council of Ministers (DZIENNIK URZEDOWY, No 13) has prompted us to offer the comments below. Mr Speaker, we realize that this letter probably will not influence the Sejm's position, but we consider it our civic duty to react to events which, in our opinion, may prove harmful to Poland and further worsen the already severely ailing economy, and which demonstrate the entire inconsistency of the methods for reforming our economic reality.

1. The poor socioeconomic situation of Poland results from mistaken systemic assumptions followed by, among others, the Government. It is precisely the activities so far of the Council of Ministers that are a major cause of the situation in which Poland finds itself. The Government is, under the Constitution, responsible for this situation. It can be supposed that the Government itself does not perceive this (as otherwise it would surely consider the possibility of resigning). In such a situation we deplore it that the Sejm not only is not subjecting the

effects of the Government's activities to objective criticism but also has unanimously broadened the Government's powers in an unprecedented manner by granting to it such extraordinary powers. This is all the more astonishing considering that the resistance to reforming the economy, the endeavors to monopolize it, and the fear of major changes are, contrary to official declarations, demonstrated precisely by major government agencies. This is even being admitted by the mass media. We fear therefore that the Decree of 11 May will not promote the credibility of the declarations about the desire to genuinely reform the Polish economy.

2. Our belief as expressed in the above comments is additionally corroborated by the language of certain articles in that decree. They refer, for example, to administrative duress as a way of forcing enterprises to apply reform solutions, to the possibility of imposed break-ups or mergers of enterprises, and to the powers of recall and suspension, which are the polar opposites of the original assumptions of the reform, namely, the supplanting of administrative duress with market methods ensuing from natural laws of economics.

3. The Decree of 11 May elicits serious doubts as to its conformity with the Constitution. For the Sejm has surrendered its exclusive power of binding legislation to the Council of Ministers and exempted it from the obligation of adhering to the constitutional procedure for issuing normative legal acts. Moreover, the Sejm could not approve administrative intervention into the internal affairs of cooperatives without amending the Constitution. It should also abide entirely by Article 13 of the Constitution, which safeguards the participation of workforces in enterprise management. The Decree of 11 May reduces the standing of self-government bodies at enterprises to that of advisory bodies, and to a very limited extent at that. Lastly, the Decree of 11 May cannot be considered an emergency decree, because that would require the application of special, emergency regulations, which was not done. Therefore, it lacks constitutional grounds.

4. We believe that the best way of reforming the Polish economy is providing the conditions for the growth of the market. This requires the greatest possible restraint on the part of legislators and the state administration. A superabundance of regulations and excessive intervention of the government in economic affairs dampens entrepreneurialism and initiative and discourages foreign capital from investing in Poland—and it is difficult to conceive of Poland's recovery in the absence of that capital—and above all, it impedes the operation of market laws. The development of a market on which different forms of ownership and different organizational structures relating to manufacturing and services could freely compete should be in no way linked to the attempts being currently undertaken with respect to prices and wages. For the relations between prices and wages should principally be determined by a healthy and strong market and not by the state administration. Of

course, the Government's measures to protect the interests of the poorest should be understandable and necessary, but on condition that they do not become a pretext for the continued retention of an unproductive and administratively guided monocentric economy. For such an economy not only is counterproductive to protecting the interests of the poorest but also results in their further pauperization and the relative regression of the Country as a whole.

We feel convinced that our viewpoint, which is hardly original, being based on the experience of many most advanced countries is also shared by a substantial number of Sejm deputies. We would be overjoyed if our letter were to trigger a Sejm debate in the direction we outlined, a debate on affairs that are fundamental and crucial to Poland's present situation. We feel certain that this is demanded by Poland's real interests.

Ewa Borkowska-Baginska, docent, UAM (Adam Mickiewicz University); Olgierd Baehr, docent of economics; Franciszek Borowczak, adjunct professor at the Agricultural Academy in Poznan; Piotr Bartkowiak, Design Bureau in Poznan; Zofia Bartoszewska, nurse; Aleksandra Banasiak, Poznan-Jezyce Health Care Center; Elzbieta Czerwinska, professor, Economics Academy in Poznan; Zbigniew Czerwinski, professor, Economics Academy in Poznan; Grzegorz Czechowski, physicist, PAN (Polish Academy of Sciences); Maciej Czajka, adjunct professor, Agricultural Academy in Poznan; Ryszard Czupara, Agricultural Academy in Poznan; Tadeusz Dziuba, Agricultural Academy in Poznan; Ryszard Ferchmin, docent, PAN; Barbara Fahrenholz, Agricultural Academy in Poznan; Bohdan Gruchman, professor, Economics Academy in Poznan; Maciej Gertner, engineer, Production and Trade Enterprise, Poznan; Urszula Gruszczynska, physicist, PAN; Janusz Golaski, docent, Agricultural Academy in Poznan; Ryszard Ganowicz, professor, Agricultural Academy in Poznan; Stanislaw Gladysiak, adjunct professor, Agricultural Academy in Poznan; Andrzej Grzybowski, "Wenus" Labor Cooperative, Poznan; Bozena Hilczer, professor, PAN; Halina Heppner, economist; Wieslaw Hudowicz, Elektromontaz-Poznan; Jerzy Hoffman, adjunct professor, PAN; Wojciech Jezewski, adjunct professor, PAN; Henryk Jedryczka, senior lecturer, Agricultural Academy in Poznan; Wojciech Janik, Agricultural Academy in Poznan; Czeslaw Janicki, professor, Agricultural Academy in Poznan; Andrzej Kazmierski, adjunct professor, UAM; Brygida Kurbis, professor, UAM; Jacek Koziol, professor, Economics Academy in Poznan; Anna Koziolowa, docent, Economics Academy in Poznan; Zdzislawa Krezynska, docent, UAM; Wojciech Kuczynski, adjunct professor, PAN; Jan Kulek, adjunct professor, PAN; Zbigniew Kowalik, adjunct professor, PAN; Wieslaw Koziara, adjunct professor, Agricultural Academy in Poznan; Teodor Kroll, Institute of Metalworking, Poznan; Bogdan Lesinski, professor, UAM; Stanislaw Lipinski, adjunct professor, PAN; Elzbieta Lukasiewicz, Poznan-Jezyce Health Care Center;

Zbigniew Lukasiewicz, Poznan; Jerzy Marcinek, professor, Agricultural Academy in Poznan; Stanislaw Mikolajczak, adjunct professor, UAM; Jerzy Malecki, professor, PAN; Ryszard Margraf, physicist, PAN; Boleslaw Musierowicz, sculptor, Poznan; Ewa Musierowicz, linguist, PAN; Czeslaw Musnicki, adjunct professor, Agricultural Academy in Poznan; Bogdan Mikolajewski, ZZG Plant No 19 in Poznan; Urszula Montarska, Poznan Sanitary-Epidemiological Center; Ewa Najwer, writer; Jadwiga Nowak, adjunct professor, PAN; Tadeusz Narozny, engineer, "Agromet-Projekt"; Krystyna Nowak, HCP Cegielski Works, Poznan; Mirosław Owoc, docent, UAM; Karol Marian Pospieszalski, professor emeritus, UAM; Jerzy Przystanski, docent, Poznan Polytechnic; Tadeusz Puchalka, professor, Poznan Polytechnic; Antoni Pawlowski, adjunct professor, PAN; Maria Polomska, adjunct professor, PAN; Anna Potok, adjunct professor, Agricultural Academy in Poznan; Eugeniusz Podolak, Agricultural Academy in Poznan; Andrzej Pawlowski, pensioner; Włodzimierz Paszkiewicz, Poznan; Stanislaw Pyczek, HCP Cegielski Works, Poznan; Teresa Rabska, professor, UAM; Wladyslaw Rozwadowski, professor, UAM; Krystyna Rawowa, docent, Poznan WSP; Jan Rymaszeowski, adjunct professor, Agricultural Academy in Poznan; Beata Reszel, Agricultural academy in Poznan; Elzbieta Ruta, Research and Development Center of Packaging Machinery, Poznan; Krzysztof Skubiszewski, professor, PAN; Andrzej Szwarc, professor, UAM; Wojciech Stankowski, professor, UAM; Wacław Skuratowicz, professor, UAM; Ludwik Szczesniak, physicist, PAN; Ludoslawa Szczepanska, chemist, PAN; Pawel B. Szczaniecki, adjunct professor, PAN; Michal Sznajder, adjunct professor, Agricultural Academy in Poznan; Andrzej Stroinski, adjunct professor, Agricultural Academy in Poznan; Zdzislaw Szroder, REMOBUD Construction and Renovation Enterprise, Poznan; Maria Szkudlarz, UAM; Wojciech Sieradzki, HCP Cegielski Works, Poznan; Zofia Trojanowiczowna, docent, UAM; Roman Trojanowicz, physicist; Piotr Tomczak, physicist, PAN; Teresa Tyszkiewicz, Dr, PAN; Piotr Tobola, adjunct professor, Agricultural Academy in Poznan; Stanislaw Wierzchoslowski, docent, Economics Academy in Poznan; Kazimierz Wawrzyniak, journalist; Michal Witkowski, docent, UAM; Andrzej Wojtowicz, Dr, PAN; Pawel Wosicki, adjunct professor, PAN; Janusz Ziolkowski, professor, UAM; Zbigniew Zakrzewski, professor emeritus, Economics Academy in Poznan; Grazyna Ziolkowska, teacher; Zygmunt Zieminski, professor, UAM; B. J. Zywuicki, dr, PAN.

Sejm Complaints Ironically Viewed
26000563 Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in
Polish No 31, 31 Jul 88 p 8

[Article by Piotr Wierzbicki: "Strange Complaints"]

[Text] According to the newspapers, wards for children sick with leukemia are being shut down or curtailed in Warsaw hospitals. The newspapers also continue to criticize the poor situation in housing construction. The

newspapers' complaints about the situation in construction and health care produce few results, of course. But that is no reason for feeling surprised. It is not the purpose of newspapers to build housing and rescue declining hospitals. It is not either, all the more so, their purpose to conceive some plans and concepts in these fields. Hence, if the press has been for years buzzing monotonously but ineffectively about housing and the health service, this buzzing does not enthuse me, but I can understand it.

But criticism of housing and health care is being voiced not only in newspapers. Time after time, these issues are considered by the Sejm. The deputies are highly critical. They censure the activities of the ministries. Then ministers and deputy ministers offer explanations. Thereupon desiderata and urgings are resolved upon. The criticism is massed. Judging from newspaper reports, no Sejm deputy as yet has defended health service and construction officials. And I completely fail to understand that massed Sejm criticism.

After all, the budget is passed by the Sejm. It is the Sejm that, on the basis of a thorough consideration of all needs, decides on the outlays on construction and health care. After all, by voting on the distribution of funds among various domains of activity it was the deputies themselves who decided how much housing and how many hospitals were to be built, and how many medicines and injection doses were to be procured. Government officials and state enterprises operate ineffectively (by their very nature). But this does not justify blaming chiefly these officials and enterprises for the failure to build hospitals. And hospitals are not being built mainly because this is not permitted by the budget, a budget that binds the administration, a budget that was passed by the Sejm.

If children with leukemia face the peril of being thrown out into the street in Warsaw, this does not mean that the Warsaw health service is administered by soulless officialdom; this means that the health service budget is absolutely unacceptable. The budget depends on the deputies. Their real attitude to the construction of housing and hospitals manifests itself when they vote on the budget. Besides, it cannot be otherwise. It is precisely during the budget debate that the deputies have higher powers than the ministers of state. It is precisely then that the Sejm can rule the government, and the entire country as well. Later, after the funds already are spent, only complaints can be made.

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Rights, Opportunities for Minorities: Two-Sided Coin

Views on Polish Language School Attendance in Lithuania

26000592 Warsaw LAD in Polish No 29, 17 Jul 88 p 8

[Compiled by Adam Hlebowicz]

[Text] Of the USSR republics in which Poles live, only Lithuania has an expanded Polish-language school system. Right now there are approximately 100 schools of

various levels there. But for several years the number of these schools seems to be dropping. The reason, most often, is the small number of registrants. The Polish daily in Lithuania, CZERWONY SZTANDAR [Red Banner], in its 19 March issue No 65, published a letter on this subject by a reader who signed herself with the initials K.A. We read as follows:

"For 3 years I have been living in Lithuania in a small town in the Vilno region, where the majority of the population are Poles. (Prior to that I lived in Belorussia—I am of Belorussian descent). I took a job in the local school. It is a trilingual school—it has Russian, Polish and Lithuanian classes. I learned that at one time the Polish classes were extremely large, which cannot be said of the classes today. They are literally shrinking before your eyes. This is astounding to me. In Belorussia where there are no Polish schools at all, the Poles who live there can only yearn (and they do yearn) to have their children educated in their mother tongue. Even some of my friends from there, who are not of Polish descent, regard the Polish language with great friendliness, and what is more, would willingly teach their child this language if they had the opportunity. That is why the motives of the Poles here, who are squandering this opportunity, are so incomprehensible to me. Am I to assume that they are ashamed of their nationality? After all, one would have to be incredibly naive to believe that a nationality can exist without a language!... I live next to the church, so I frequently see my Polish neighbors taking their children to Sunday services. I know very well that they are pupils in Russian classes. Could it be that their fathers and mothers believe that with the help of religion their offspring will become Poles? If so, they are badly mistaken: knowing one's native language, cultivating it and using it every day—that is the first and irrevocable requirement for preserving a nationality and its traditions. (...)

Unfortunately, my neighbor, a nice woman, the mother of two delightful preschoolers, does not understand this. When I asked her what school she will send her children to, she replied immediately: 'The Russian school.' And who will teach them Polish? 'I will,' was the reply. This mother does not realize how far removed her Russian-Polish-Belorussian mixed language is from correct Polish.

It may be that there is something in this problem that I do not understand. Or perhaps there is no problem at all. Nevertheless, I would like to ask the Poles who live in the Vilno lands: What is the blot on their nationality if they are forbidding their offspring to learn their mother tongue? Could it be that they think it is unfashionable and unnecessary?"

The editors added a commentary to the letter. This is a part of it: "Indeed, what is it that compels us to ignore Polish schools and turn our children over to another

language environment in which they may not feel comfortable? Are we still deluding ourselves that after completing a Russian school it will be easier for our children to go on to college? Nothing could be more wrong. It has frequently been proven that it is much more difficult to learn in a foreign language, therefore, Poles have far more difficulty in keeping up in non-Polish schools."

The letter and the editor's reply met with great response from the readers of CZERWONY SZTANDAR. Issues No 77 and 89, dated 2 and 6 April 1988, brought more letters on this subject. Miroslaw Stacewicz, a 26-year-old engineer from Vilno, writes as follows:

"I was one of those whose parents decided to send me to a Russian school. Yes, they used their native language at home. Even so, I know that there are also people who, after sending their children to a Russian or Lithuanian School, stop using Polish at home in order to "make it easier" for their offspring to learn.

I must admit, with my hand on my heart, that in the foreign Russian surroundings I was ashamed of my Polish name. I was embarrassed when my parents talked to me loudly in Polish in public places. (...) Today, when I truly feel I am a Pole, I shudder to think that I might never have been able to read 'Pan Tadeusz' in the original."

Another interesting account came from Lida, in Belorussia, from a Russian, Aleksander Siemionow.

"I am a Russian, but I love the Polish language and read a great deal in Polish. My life has become richer, because in addition to the culture of the Russian nation, I have become familiar with the cultural achievements of the brotherly Polish nation. That is why I cannot understand how a Pole can deprive his children of the opportunity to learn in his native language when he has Polish schools right nearby. Unfortunately, K.A. is correct when she writes that we who live in Belorussia can only yearn for them. That is why the aficionados of the Polish language in Lida looked forward with great joy to every live contact with Poles..

Recently our Polish Culture Fan Club was host to a children's group from Vilno Middle School No 29, "Switezianka." When the Polish language teacher from this school, Anna Gulbinowicz, said, prior to the group's performance, that there are about 100 Polish schools in Lithuania, there was loud applause in the hall."

A teacher from the Vilno region, Aleksander Stankiewicz, also sent an interesting letter. According to him:

"One reason—and it is not trivial—that Poles ignore Polish schools, is the preconception which continues to plague us, that they make it difficult for a young person to establish himself in life. I believe this to be without basis. After all, there are many examples showing that when graduates of Polish schools do well in studying in

Russian or Lithuanian in higher schools, they go on to fulfill official duties in responsible positions with success. Certainly, it is very useful, throughout one's life, to know the other languages—Russian and Lithuanian. But first we should master our own language thoroughly. Because anyone who does not know and respect his own language will not respect other languages either."

Eugenia Adamkowicz, a retiree living in the Kiejdan region, also sent a letter. It should be remembered that this area, once called Lauda, was until recently largely populated by Poles, and its history is described in the pages of Sienkiewicz's 'Potop' [The Deluge]:

"...in our county of Kiejdan there were once many Poles. Now the children, from families known to me, speak only Lithuanian. I have absolutely nothing against this, but I also believe that one should know one's own language first of all. It can be mastered with the help of Polish books, which can be obtained in the bookshops, and we also have access to the Polish press. Perhaps all that is lacking in it are articles about a concern for the Polish language, for our own national culture. Because in the past the subject of patriotism seemed to be on the sidelines, it is no wonder that it yielded to a stronger current. I think that now, too, we should reinforce the national spirit, as Sienkiewicz did in his day in the 'Trilogy.'"

Adolf Kodz from the Vilno region, made a comprehensive analysis of the present situation. Here are excerpts from his letter:

"I put the get-rich mentality of some of our countrymen in first place. The pursuit of wealth and affluence, and for the easy access to them, has pushed the spiritual world into the background. Even the love for the mother tongue. I have very great respect for such nationalities as the Jews, the Karaites, who for centuries maintained their own identity in a foreign-language environment. The fact that we are rapidly losing our national character somehow does not arouse any fear in many of us Poles.

In second place I put the obscurantism of some representatives of the local Polish intelligentsia. What is an ordinary mortal, a worker or a kolkhoznik, supposed to think about the selection of a language to be taught his children when the director of one of the largest trilingual schools, in a small circle of parents, announces [in very broken and ungrammatical Polish]: 'I am a Pole and I advise you to send your children to the Russian class.' This is a genuine fact. And also that Polish-language teachers in the Vilno, Solechniko and Trotsky regions send their own offspring to Russian classes, thus influencing the rest of the parents and opening up more and more Russian classes instead of Polish ones, even in those areas where most of the population is Polish. They forget that they themselves graduated from Polish schools and nothing stood in the way of their getting a higher education.

And how many times do we hear a Polish official, in dealing with a Pole, talking in Russian, even when the presence of third persons who do not know this language, does not require this.(...) Or something else, simply anecdotal: in a mixed family, e.g., Polish-Lithuanian, a Russian is born.

I often ask myself, what will we leave behind us? Already now our grandchildren cannot read the inscription on the gravestone of their grandparents. Will we allow our national identity, which has been maintained from one generation to the next, to be lost?"

The editors of CZERWONY SZTANDAR, in view of the importance of this problem and the broad response from their readers, have promised to continue to print letters in future issues of the newspaper.

Assimilation of Minorities Living in Poland

26000592 Warsaw *POLITYKA* in Polish
No 31, 30 Jul 88 p 1

[Article by Jerzy Tomaszewski]

[Text] After my comments regarding national minorities in Poland, I received many letters, only a few of which could be printed, even in a summarized form. The basic obstacle is the size of *POLITYKA*, which, after all, covers many problems and cannot become a place exclusively for a discussion on national minorities. As a result, I have not been able to convince the editors that it would be advisable to print parts of the interesting letters. I apologize to those writers whom I was not able to answer directly, although I read their opinions, especially those that were critical, very carefully.

Some correspondents very sharply demanded that their arguments with my opinion be published, looking unfavorably on the fact that statements which coincide with theirs have already been published. But what is there to do, when otherwise interesting letters did not contain a signature or address. Unsigned letters, according to the editorial staff's rules, cannot be published. The restraint of my correspondents gives me pause. They sometimes suggest that their views represent those of the majority of the people, they present serious arguments (sometimes very sharply, but within the limits of permissibility), and therefore they probably are not afraid of public opinion. Even less is the probability of fear of repression—the editors neither want to nor can they punish anyone for opinions that are different from those published in the newspaper, and the state authorities have not granted the newspaper a monopoly on truth and do not concern themselves with such matters.

Only one anonymous letter contained no names, and rightly so. It was signed "Poles From the Warta and the Vistula [Rivers]." It is to the writer's credit that he was too ashamed to sign it. What, then, should we do? Probably only have a general discussion on some selected—the most important, I think—arguments.

In some letters the opinion is expressed, although rather seldom in a clear way, that the present situation of national minorities in Poland is as it should be, and that all complaints are without basis. The authors call attention to the fact that in a Polish State the process of national assimilation is a normal phenomenon and that any counteraction to it would be undesirable. The laws ensure equal rights. The minority societies are satisfied (or should be satisfied) with what they have received. Moreover, a change in policy may serve to denationalize certain Polish elements (and possibly endanger their rights).

Without a doubt, the processes of assimilation are a phenomenon which generally appears where the minority is living in another nation, particularly one that greatly outnumbers it. Attempts to counteract this by force would be just as barbaric as denationalization through pressure. But regardless of assimilation, a smaller or larger element remains which has lasting ties to its own national traditions and which wants to cultivate a separate culture. I believe that from the standpoint of the interests of Polish culture, this is desirable. I would call the fear of the "denationalization" of the Polish population under this influence a figment of the imagination—under Polish administration, schools, press, radio and television, only the most stubborn Belorussians or Ukrainians retain their language and customs. How, then, can we talk about the supposed danger of the influence of these traditions on a Polish environment? On the other hand, for us this is extremely useful, because we are able to come in touch with different customs and cultures, look at ourselves from other points of view (that is why I like Socrates Janowicz's books so much), to see a variety of artistic traditions. In the past, such contacts greatly enriched Polish culture. Now they are quite rare, if only because of the small number of minorities living in Poland. That is why I believe that help for the national minorities in our country not only does not take anything away from the rights of the Poles, but brings them considerable benefits.

It is true that from the standpoint of the law, all citizens in Poland are equal. But it was observed long ago that official equality is not enough (although it is very important), but a great deal depends on ensuring its financial bases, on the daily practices of the organs of authority at the lowest levels, and also—and maybe even primarily—on the social atmosphere in which all citizens find themselves. From this standpoint, not everything is alright. Every Pole should be deeply ashamed that letters are also received from representatives of national minorities, letters that are far removed from any kind of radicalism or subversion, in which facts are quietly related and the writers ask that they not be printed. They are afraid that even if the editors do not disclose their name and address, someone might guess the identity of the writer, which would cause unpleasantness on the part of neighbors and acquaintances. Even if we accept the fact that these fears are exaggerated, please realize in

what kind of environment a citizen of the Polish People's Republic is living in if he believes that admitting to a nationality other than Polish is risky for him.

I use specific arguments, those appealing to the Polish national interest, for which I was criticized by one person. She correctly pointed out that the basic motive for behavior should simply be a recognition of the rights of all citizens of the Republic to maintain their own culture. This evolves from the constitution, from the traditions of Polish democracy. But this argument is not convincing to everyone, and there are many people who—following the not-too-commendable current of our political thought—voice a national egoism, sometimes in an extremely simplified form. To them I say that they should consider the fact that the existence and maintenance of national minorities is also—and maybe even primarily—in the interest of Polish culture. Our attitude towards them is also a measure of our culture in everyday life and in public activities.

There are those who believe that assimilation—despite everything, is desirable. To them I would like to say that in the Central Europe of this century it has not been possible to bring about such assimilation through pressure and administrative restrictions. It is true that the methods used in Nazi Germany greatly limited the scope of Polish language and culture. But at the same time, these methods helped to strengthen the resolve of numerous activists and defenders of all things Polish, which was not what the politicians intended. Furthermore, they caused a lot of tragedy to many people who were subjected to various forms of pressure. I know that no one proposes that similar methods be used. I cite an extreme example because it proves the ineffectiveness of pressure, even brutal pressure. Furthermore, it leads to severe national conflicts, disastrous to all sides involved.

I also meet with the opinion that any kind of changes (i.e., expansion of schools for minorities, or making it possible for them to publish) are unnecessary because no one wants them aside from a small handful of people. The facts prove otherwise, but let us accept this viewpoint as a working hypothesis. If so, granting the demands of the minority activists presents no danger. After all, no one is demanding that reading a Ukrainian novel or Belorussian poetry be made compulsory. If there are no buyers, then after a year or two the experiment will die a natural death. If it turns out that no one is sending children to the minority schools, then these schools will automatically disappear. But please remember that we are assuming that everything is completely voluntary—one can take advantage of what is offered, or not take advantage of it. I am convinced that there will be a large public demand for education and culture in the languages of the national minorities. I hope that my correspondents, at least the majority of them, will not demand a policy of denationalization in today's Poland, and will therefore agree to such an experiment.

A particular motive appears in some letters. Their writers maintain that the Polish population in neighboring countries is deprived of the ability to take advantage of those solutions which I believe to be indispensable in Poland. I do not deny that not everything is alright in our neighboring countries. I am not writing on this subject because this would require some special studies which I did not make nor will I make. Although my correspondent's knowledge is also far from perfect (in Czechoslovakia the living conditions of Polish minorities are better than, for example, the Belorussian minorities in Poland), but that is not the point. Those who believe that Polish nationality policy should be conducted like that of our neighboring countries in relation to Poles living abroad, probably do not know that in the past there were attempts to do so. In the years between the wars, Lithuania and Poland treated these minorities (the Polish minority in Lithuania and the Lithuanian minority in Poland) according to these precepts. This did not do credit to the politicians of either country; moreover, it caused a great deal of suffering to the people affected by this on both sides of the border. Fortunately, no thinking Polish politicians intend to follow this example. In practice, reciprocity in nationality policy comes down to using the minorities in diplomatic contests between countries which are at odds with each other. I believe that this singular "punishment" of one's own citizens of another nationality for what is happening in another country, over whose policies they have no influence, is ordinary barbarism, not very much different from that applied when hostages are seized and terrorized. Furthermore, 90 percent of the Polish people are Catholics; I understand that the writers who propose such solutions are neither Catholics nor adherents to Marxist internationalism.

Interest in the fate of our countrymen in other countries is a completely different question. Last year, many articles were published in the Polish press on this subject. I believe that this is desirable and normal.

Finally, the argument appears in some letters—not too many, fortunately—that during the war the Ukrainians collaborated with the Nazis, committed many crimes, and that they should be punished for this now, or at least they do not deserve any kind of "concessions." First of all, not all Ukrainians collaborated with the occupiers and not all were criminals. True, I know many stories about the cruelties of nationalistic detachments, but I also know about the participation of Ukrainians (not just in the Soviet Army ranks) in the battles against the Nazis and about the help that Ukrainian peasants gave to people (Poles and Jews) whose lives were threatened by the occupier or other Ukrainians. I also know about the accusations made by Ukrainians against some Polish detachments, but I will ignore this question because it does not pertain to the subject. Therefore, it is not "Ukrainians" who collaborated with the Nazis and committed crimes, but "some Ukrainians." The difference is very important. Let me remind you how fiercely we defend ourselves when certain traits or viewpoints are

ascribed to all of us, as a society, when such traits or viewpoints apply to only some of us (perhaps even a small part, although no one has ever studied this). My correspondents demand that all Ukrainians be punished for the conduct of only some of them, and are probably angry when people in other countries want to treat us in the same way.

I have used the Ukrainians as an example, but in various degrees the same probably applies to other minorities living in Poland.

A couple of my correspondents expressed an interest in my nationality. There are those who say I am a Jew (in view of that, the "Poles From the Warta and Vistula" advise me to move to Israel). Others believe that I am a Ukrainian. One person says I am a Belorussian. These deliberations have two aspects. One is relevant: ascribing someone a specific nationality belongs in the area of truth or falsehood, and is not an assessment of the

morality of correctness of viewpoints. If someone believes that calling me a Belorussian, Ukrainian or Jew is offensive, then he is mistaken. I would react the same way if he called me a Chinese or an Indian. Nor do I believe that ascribing a particular nationality to someone says anything for or against his viewpoints. I know Poles who voice completely nonsensical opinions and I know some extremely intelligent foreigners. Of course, the reverse is also often true.

The second aspect is somewhat disconcerting. What the authors of these letters are indirectly saying is that they believe that a true Pole's stance towards other nations can be, at the least, one of disrespect and dislike, if not enmity. However, in no case is he capable of understanding the needs of national minorities or respecting their traditions and culture. For the Polish nation, this is a very insulting viewpoint, which I do not share.

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INTRABLOC

FRG Daily Describes East European Ecological Problems

23000136 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER
ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG (Bilder und Zeiten
Supplement) in German 30 July 88 p 3

[Article by Jacqueline Henard: "Pollution and Protection in the Socialist World: Ecological Thinking in East Europe—A Troublesome New Topic"]

[Text] A symbol has outlived its usefulness. The "Trabbi," the small boxy vehicle with the pungent exhaust fumes, is to be gradually phased out of street traffic. It is being said in Prague nowadays that Czechoslovakia wants to ban the use of Trabants or Wartburgs in the severely damaged forests of the High Tatra National Park. Hungarian parliamentarians had even discussed a general ban on two-stroke engines before their spring session: breathable air is in short enough supply in Eastern Europe as it is.

In industrial regions of Poland, the farmers sometimes have to replough their fields before the harvest when rain clouds have deposited so much heavy metal on the fields that the vegetables have become unfit for human consumption. A new lung disease is being reported in northern Bohemia; children are regularly sent to the Bohemian forest to recuperate. In the schools they are given a vitamin-enriched diet. Automobile exhaust fumes make up only one part of environmental pollution. Water, air and soil are so polluted in many regions that a remedy must be sought even though environmental protection meets with even greater resistance in this part of the world than in the West.

The Worries of the People

For recently developed agrarian countries, such as Bulgaria, the industrialization which followed World War II meant a gain in prestige. But the capital needed for further investments is not available, and it is unlikely that it will be possible to create it in the near future, given the low level of Eastern economies. Some countries don't want to acquire new debts for purchasing Western equipment, others are not able to. The inhabitants are far from spoiled, and can scarcely be asked to make sacrifices; their spirits are supposedly being kept up at the moment in all the states with the help of more imported televisions and other consumer goods. And finally, it is still important to protect the sensibilities of brother countries; the most poisonous clouds come from neighbors on the other side of the border. The problem is one of squaring the circle.

Boris Chakalov has just been appointed chief functionary for environmental questions in Bulgaria; he has already mastered the art of presenting the strict regulations just as well as some of the press liaison officers in Western chemical firms. No one in the country, he says

unambiguously, can evade the incorruptible supervision of his laboratory troops. They are gathering all kinds of measurements in a country approximately the size of Austria. He explains that no new plant can be constructed before his committee has set up a panel of ecological experts. The dust pollution of the air has been lowered by 90 per cent; now it is time to be concerned with sulfur gases. Chakalov has 80 colleagues.

By now, most Eastern European countries have set up environmental ministries and institutes of varying effectiveness. The pressure to do something for the quality of life is coming from below, even if it is a weak one; but protection of nature and the environment are esoteric concerns when it is necessary to live with a divorced partner because of lack of housing and to stand in line for bananas.

Socialism has trained people in patience and endurance, but miscarriages and birth defects touch deeper feelings. There are reports of particularly many unsuccessful pregnancies from Rustchuck on the Danube, Elias Canetti's birthplace. Bulgarian Ruse, as it is called today, is across from the Romanian chemical factory of Giurgiu, which regularly emits chlorine gas clouds which are carried over to Ruse by the wind. Since the growing dissatisfaction of the population has been heard in Sofia, foreign relations between Bulgaria and Romania have deteriorated. The topic has already been considered several times during government visits. In October a preliminary agreement was signed. The newspapers are still reporting chlorine clouds; clearly, even Shvirkov's ambassadors have no influence on Romanian behavior.

The topic of environmental pollution has become a familiar agenda item in town councils and town meetings. Here those in power are often affected themselves. And in foreign language dailies and weeklies for foreign readers, in very recent times a moderate form of glasnost, there are regular reports about the poisonous smog inversions over the major cities. The capitals in the small countries which come late to industrialization are often also the main industrial towns. The growing number of cases of disease, the emission levels and the names of the guilty parties have to be suppressed: the ministries of information are sensitive, and know how to defend themselves against an excess of journalistic ambition. In Hungary and Bulgaria, journalists were demoted, shifted around within their newspapers, or fired because of their detailed reporting. This means that we usually get vague statements of misconduct.

Pollution from capitalist neighbors, on the other hand, can be proclaimed, but if they cross a border within the socialist bloc, restraint is called for. Northern Bohemia, for example, is heavily blanketed with harmful substances from the GDR; in Cesky Lipa, adults' eyes often water and children's noses bleed when the wind is from the north. The town council is said to have turned away

complaints and calls for public protests with the argument that the GDR was solely responsible for it. The stubborn official protests from Bulgaria about the poisonous clouds from Romania are the exception in Eastern Europe.

But here and there small groups, independent of the government, have banded together to make less restrained demands for healthier living conditions. These include the "Brontosaurus" in Prague, about 100 scientists in Bratislava (Pressburg), and the Danube Circle in Hungary. These are not popular initiatives in the Western sense. They have no statutes; they are not listed anywhere and do not stage any spectacles. But in the socialist countries, which find it difficult to get used to opposition, their factual, independent way of thinking in itself has the effect of an attempted revolution.

The authorities have a special technique for admonitions. In dealing with environmentalists, they often take their time, perhaps partly because this new kind of criticism of the regime is hard for them to understand. The Slovak PRAVDA, for example, the party newspaper of the eastern section of the republic, did not complain until February 1988 about the group of scientists who had already reported damages to health resulting from ecological carelessness: The paper said that the authors ought to ask themselves if they really want to contribute to a solution of the problems, or if they "prefer to go on providing anticommunist and anti-Czech centers with pseudorevolutionary or rather intentionally falsified facts," thus aligning themselves with the enemies of socialism. The peevish threats betray an insecurity which has its roots partly in the fragile sense of identity of small multinational states.

The Canalization of the Danube

The Hungarian environmentalists, perhaps the liveliest movement in Eastern Europe, are up in arms less against constant pollution than against construction of a power plant and its consequences: the canalization of the Danube with two locks, one at Gabčíkovo in Slovakia and the second at Nagymaros, at the bend of the Danube above Budapest. Geologist Miklos Duray claims in a collection of essays which recently appeared in Vienna that the power plant will destroy central Europe's largest natural drinking water reservoir. Duray is an activist on the committee for the protection of the rights of the Hungarian minority in Czechoslovakia, and as a result he has already had a few confrontations with the police.

The Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros project originated in the fifties, in a different era of industrialization. It has been modified in comparison with the original plans, it is true, but the construction of the hydroelectric plant, which is hardly mentioned in the West in spite of the supposed rediscovery of central Europe, is still one of the greatest transformations of the landscape which Europe has undergone at the end of the 20th century. On the Czech side, the Danube is going to be set in a concrete canal bed

with a depth of up to 20 meters for a stretch of 30 km. The bottom is laid out with a solid brown plastic tarpaulin to prevent any seepage. The former course of the river is normally to take up only a small stream, but at high water it is to relieve the pressure on the turbines.

On the Slovak side, construction is already far advanced within the framework of the development program for the eastern section, which is more rural in character. The Gabčíkovo reservoir, with an area of 6,000 acres, is also intended to protect agriculture against the constant danger of flooding. But in private conversation even Slovak functionaries reveal that they are uneasy today when they think about this grandiose rape of the landscape. Because the canal is to be watertight underneath, scientists calculate that the water table in the surrounding soil will drop up to 4 meters. The Pannonian lowland, already an area of drifting sand, could become a central European desert.

In Hungary, construction did not begin until last summer. An official argument for the plant claims that Czechoslovakia cannot be left in the lurch. Without Nagymaros, Gabčíkovo cannot be activated. The protests of the Hungarian opponents of the project with active support from the Austrian Greens and the Austrian university student union are still not letting up. They say that the damage ought to be minimized, if it can't be eliminated altogether. The power plant is costing Hungary more than any possible benefits derived from it. Hungary's own defective energy supply will scarcely be improved by it: Investments will be paid for in installments in the form of providing current to the Austrian power company for more than 20 years.

On the Hungarian side, part of the financing is being provided by Austrian banks, which are accused by environmentalists of gaining full utilization for the construction firms of their industrial combine at the expense of Hungary's future. Even today, villages in the Puszta have to be serviced by tank trucks because of overfertilization of the soil and nitrate poisoning of the wells. Because the cost of constructing the power plant is so high, financing for them has to take second place. Debrecen and Esztergom will not receive any sewage treatment plants in the foreseeable future.

Janos Vargha says that he does not consider himself a "Green," and does not oppose the construction of the power plant for political reasons. Vargha is a biologist, and was one of the first to write scientific essays about the ecological costs of the Nagymaros project, a fact which subsequently cost him his job. He now lives in the country on a stipend from George Soros, a rich American of Hungarian descent. Vargha is angry about the "Austrian export of environmental problems": After the hydroelectric plant of Hainburg, below Vienna, was shut down by the protests of Austrian Greens, the Austrian electricity economy found the solution to its future problems downstream on the Danube. "We are being exploited like a developing country."

Dependent on the Soviet Union

Hungarian and Slovak environmentalists are trying to internationalize protest against the construction, but without any great international response. The founding of a trinational park to save the Danube river meadows has been under consideration since February. Involvement on the part of the USSR under Mikhail Gorbachov is bound up as a goal with hopes and longings: the Danube Circle has appealed to experts from the Soviet Academy of Sciences to have construction halted as a senseless expenditure.

Besides Soros, there is a second wealthy emigre, Bela Liptak, who is supporting the environmental movement. This spring he sent polite amnesty-style letters to prominent figures in Hungary and all over the world: Janos Kadar and Karoly Grosz, Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachov, and among many others the directors of the World Bank and the IMF, on whose good will the Hungarians' precarious ability to pay depends.

Thus these letters state appositely that it is well known that no foreign government and no international institution should want or be able to influence decisions which only Hungary could make, but that nevertheless it is hoped that the recipients will examine the Nagymaros project more carefully in the light of its dubious profitability and the longterm burden it would place on Hungarian economic power. The signature list is longer than the letter, probably including all the groups of Hungarian exiles which are backing the protest.

The history of Nagymaros and its opponents is a Hungarian specialty no other nation has an overseas lobby capable of such powerful mobilization but it still points to a general problem of socialist satellite states, one which is linked with a series of measurable environmental hazards: the lack of easily accessible energy reserves. Their own raw materials are usually of poor quality: wet sulfurous coal in the GDR and Bulgaria, for instance, and only narrow lodes remaining in the classical mining districts of Hungary. In Ozd and Miskolc, the workers are bringing more stone than coal to the surface. Anyone who had the means has emigrated from these mining areas. It is the gypsies who have remained. The segregation of the population is adding to structural problems there. In southeastern Bulgaria, broad fields are lying idle after decades of strip mining.

The eastern half of the continent is more dependent on energy imports from the Soviet Union than can be pleasing to its leaders. For "hard" goods, meaning everything that could also be sold in the West in exchange for currency, such as crude oil, gas and electricity, are traded within Comecon only for other "hard" products or dollars. The opportunity for exports to the West is being narrowed even more than is already the case because of the constantly diminishing competitiveness of the products.

The need for electricity is growing along with the goal of automatization of the economy. That is why nuclear energy has been pushed for several years: Bulgaria now produces 30 percent of its electricity with atomic power, and soon it will be 60 percent. The change in energy supply does not decrease dependence on the USSR uranium, construction parts and spare parts come largely from the Eastern economic power, the USSR.

Nuclear energy brings its own waste, and new material for conflicts with large and small environmental groups. Radioactive waste cannot be ignored. There is still no patent solution for getting rid of it; a storage place is necessary. After the Chernobyl reactor accident, that is not straightforward any more even in Eastern Europe. In spring the Hungarian authorities had to capitulate in the face of opposition from a group of villages around Pecs (Fuenkirchen), who did not want to permit temporary storage of radioactive waste in their vicinity. Initial construction of a second atomic reactor in Poland is said to have been halted recently because of popular protests.

The acrid exhaust fumes of the Trabant are a relatively innocuous problem which can safely be left open to public discussion. Everybody would prefer to drive to his dacha in a Trabant, regardless of its age, rather than take the bus. In spite of all the arguments against the two-stroke engine, Hungary ordered 20,000 new Trabants at the last Leibzig fair.

In the case of consumer goods, remembering the sometimes astonishing amount of private wealth, the possibility of importing from the West still exists. BMW, for example, sells 300 cars to Hungary every year. Some models would cost DM100,000 in Germany. In Czechoslovakia, the Bavarian auto makers are now also offering their largest car from the "seven" series. How individual customers get their hands on such a wealth of currency under socialism remains among the riddles of the system.

But in the face of the problems of heavy industry, all the traditional tricks fall short. The plants are old and badly maintained. They are the great polluters of nature, and they are putting Eastern Europe's future in jeopardy.

9337

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Halbleiterwerk Foresees Technological Advances
23000142 Frankfurt/Oder NEUER TAG in German
21 July 88 p 3

[Article by Engineers Stefan Lingel, shop steward; Wolfgang Rost, faction organizer; and Wolfgang Pfau, collective leader: "All Ideas Aimed on Large Thrust in Performance—The Halbleiterwerk's Collective 'Basis Technology Development' on Promoting the 'Ideas—Solutions—Patents' Initiative"]

[Text] On 1 June 1988 the factory party organization leadership at the Halbleiterwerk (Semiconductor Plant)

reported to the Secretariat of the SED Central Committee (CC). In the position taken by the SED CC Secretariat, which was published on 3 June in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, great value was placed on the performance of the entire factory collective, and at the same time a confirmation of the path proposed by our factory for the long-range development of the Halbleiterwerk. With this, the work of all the collectives which participated in the realization of this strategy, including our "Basis Technology Development" collective, gained a solid base and great respect.

Directed Toward Dynamic Growth With New Components

We in the collective have used previous talks in preparation for the 1989 Plan discussion for, among other things, setting high goals for ourselves based on these standards. We are concerned about concrete, measurable achievements in preparation for the 40th anniversary of the founding of the (GDR). For the factory, these achievements should accelerate the development and implementation process and thereby increase the reliability of development results. For the customer who uses our components, an acceleration of the development and production of the final product should be made possible.

Our responsibility stems from the recognition that the pace of microelectronics development has increased further. As a result, our economy quickly needs the modern components in development in the Halbleiterwerk in order to be able to produce new competitive products for the domestic and foreign markets. Finally, our commitment is an additional contribution towards supporting the chosen economic and social policies of the Eleventh (SED) Party Conference.

Our program for the 40th anniversary of the GDR concentrates on:

- advanced bipolar technology for production of complex analog circuitry—this meant, for example, a dynamic development in productivity at the Fernsehgeraetewerk (Television factory) Stassfurt along with noticeable improvement in television quality and savings in labor which then are available for new product lines in home electronics;
- a new technology for communications circuitry—this enabled the development of central telephone exchanges at the Kombinat Nachrichtentechnik (Telecommunications Combine) which are competitive in the world market;
- a new technology for fast circuitry—with it the development of a new generation of faster computers at Kombinat Robotron was made possible.

With these plans, assignments have been formulated which, in order to be solved, must involve all of the Halbleiterwerk collectives but especially the collectives in the Main Department for Process Development and

Component Construction. Only with the creative contributions of our partners, their engagement in the application of ideas, and their provisioning of material and technical supplies, was it possible to successfully meet the obligations undertaken for the 40th anniversary. Seen in this light, the program worked out by us contains not only the tasks for our collective but also those for our partners.

Our Way—New Quality of a Proven Initiative

Along with the discussions over goals, we had disagreements concerning how we would attain them. We came to the conclusion that the use of the experiences collected in the factory and through our collective with the initiative "Ideas—Solutions—Patents" is a promising way to attain what we have undertaken.

This initiative was "born" almost 10 years ago to the "Dzierzynski" collective with its leader, Juergen Ruschen, and was an important throttle for the acceleration of research and development processes in our factory as well as in other factories in the bezirk. This was also, by the way, a collective in Process Development. Since then, much has changed in, among other things, the use of "Ideas—Solutions—Patents" in our factory. The Halbleiterwerk completed a considerable development and became a reliable partner in the economy.

We, and many other collectives with us, believe that the initiative "Ideas—Solutions—Patents" is still fundamentally correct today. What is new today is the magnitude, complexity and to some degree the novelty of the tasks before us. Precisely for this reason, it is necessary to use the collected experiences of the past well.

We Employ Work Methods on Complex Tasks

Today we interpret the "Ideas—Solutions—Patents" initiative in brief as a synthesis of socialist community work, personal position and management activity oriented toward the future prospects. This initiative is particularly suited for highly complicated tasks. Development assignments at all stages, from initial research through to production are certainly in this category.

1. Each significant development today is only realized as a complex result of manifold-interrelated community work.

It is our experience that only interdisciplinary "implementation collectives" under strict leadership are in the position to successfully work on such tasks. In the formulation of our work obligations for the 40th anniversary, we built on the performance of our collective's implementation collective of Dr Heine Hoffmann and Professor Dr Paul Koy from the Institute for Semiconductor Physics, Dr Hartmut Fischer, Director of the Collective "Surface Technology," Graduate Physicist Juergen Knopke, Dr Juergen Penndorf and Dr Hartmut Koenigsdoerffer.

In addition, we counted on the tested cooperation with other branches of the factory. In particular, we need the support of the production collective which can make an important contribution to meeting the time constraints by accepting responsibility for preparations on a restricted time schedule. The timely acquisition of material and equipment supplies for work in development and transferral into production is pursued together with the financing collectives.

2. Each common plan, precisely because of its complexity, builds today even more so than before on the individual will to achieve, the social sense of responsibility and the professional ability of all participating researchers, engineers and technicians.

Our commitments for next October can be fulfilled when each individual does more than his responsibility. All the members of the "Basic Technology Development" collective know what they themselves want to contribute for the developed disciplined course of action. There is no room for the ideology "You cannot plan for solutions," and "Success is a matter of luck." Even in the scientific-technical work, the strength of the chain is defined by the weakest link.

As a result, the new dimension of "Ideas—Solutions—Patents" incorporates great personal engagement for self-imposed goals by the work groups and the implementation collective, and offers the individual a concrete field for creative participation in the scientific-technical revolution.

3. Each significant scientific-technical initiative today depends on provision of the necessary conditions—qualitatively different from what was often practiced in the past.

We will achieve good results for the GDR jubilee if—in our experience—management at all levels in all areas, from factory director down to the shop foreman, make the key role of science and technology a de facto and long-term background of their leadership activities. It is certainly not always easy to consider, along with the plan activities of the moment, the importance of the scientific-technical procedure in every decision. But as much as we consider the key importance of science and technology in all our decisions, we will insure meeting the plan goals of tomorrow. Favorable conditions for creative work and meetings within the collective, material stimulus of decisive developmental tasks in research and development, and morale-boosting recognition of superior scientific-technical work are a few of the expectations which must be directly fulfilled in the agreement with the factory director and the BGL in the spirit of furthering the "Ideas—Solutions—Patents" initiative.

In a creative atmosphere, our collective will take on the tasks before it, including the application of the proposed programs for improving working and living conditions.

Therefore, the new dimension of our work, and with that the "Ideas—Solutions—Patents" initiative, stands not lastly as a demand on the quality of the leadership, and on its responsibility to insure in a timely and prudent manner that the conditions which foster creative activity are present.

[Caption for photo not reproduced] For digital signal transmission. The procurement of the prototype models of the new special communications circuits for digital transmission. These circuits will be coproduced with the Institute for Semiconductorphysics of the Academy of Science and Applied Technology. With the procurement of the first prototype models in the coming year the development and production efforts of the mediators as international leaders will be hastened.

13071

POLAND

Debt Reduction, Increased Production Supplies Should Break Reform Impasse

26000591b Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish No 23, 5 Jun 88 p 5

[Article by Mieczyslaw Mieszczankowski, professor of economics, Institute of Economic Sciences, Polish Academy of Sciences; article is an expanded version of a speech given at the plenary session of the Economic Advisory Council]

[Text] The program for implementation of the second stage of economic reform has been threatened. The main factors are intensification of the market imbalance and of inflation. This requires vigorous counteraction. Are there possibilities for such counteraction and what are they?

As we know, the main element of the start of the second stage of economic reform was supposed to be achievement of a state of market balance, after which burning out of inflation should occur. This would create a field of action for the autoregulatory mechanisms of reform, the growth of enterprise and initiative, would strengthen the operation of motivation systems, etc., which as a result would produce mitigation of barriers to economic growth and attainment of a more meaningful improvement in society's standard of living.

But the conditions for that start did not turn out favorably. In recent years the rate of economic growth has begun to slow. A worsening of the state of imbalance in particular segments of the market has appeared. Inflation has begun to intensify, despite stemming its obvious form through increased subsidies. The trade balance (exchanges with the so-called second region) has not shown improvement. The draft of the plan for the years

1986 to 1990 did not anticipate a significant improvement in this situation. It provided for a small possibility in market improvement (a 2.0 to 2.5 percent increase in supply) while assuming stabilization of the level of real wages.

Two Concepts

In this situation the authorities, indeed attaching weight to growth in supply to the market but assuming that at the beginning of the second stage of reform it could not be more considerable, adopted the concept of a one-time but very high price hike (of basic food articles by up to 110 percent). A variation of that increase spread out over two or three years was also presented, but this alternative was not elected and the slogan, "once but right" was adopted. It was assumed that this would permit returning balance to the market and changing price structure in one blow along with suspending or greatly limiting subsidies, thereby making prices true parameters. This would produce conditions favorable to the start of the second stage of reform.

I mention these well known matters in order to bring into relief the second concept promulgated by a significant part of the circle of economists. According to them, the program for the second stage of reform was not correlated with the provisions of the five-year plan. In order for the program to be implemented successfully, corrections (revisions) must be made to the plan, drawing it away from "massive" investments with long implementation cycles and simultaneously transferring some expenditures to quickly profitable, promarket and proexport investments. Along with an increased level of growth in supply to the market, gradually make changes in price structure and gradually achieve market balance. A one-time, "sudden" price increase is neither warranted nor will it bring back that balance. It is not warranted since most production is profitable, while subsidies are highly concentrated and suspending them in one stroke will "wind up" the inflationary spiral. It will not bring back market balance because a major price increase will generate pressure for an equally major, corresponding increase in wages and income.

Unfavorable Start

The first referendum since 1946 showed that the public (meaning the qualified majority) was not in favor of sudden acceleration to implement the goal of the second stage of reform, e.g., mainly a one-time major price increase. This was basically to be expected, although it was surely a surprise to those opting for the increase. (Claiming that a high percentage voted in favor of it is misleading in this case, since a significant part of that percentage, while against an "abrupt" increase in prices, voted, in a sense, in favor of reform.)

Conducting a referendum has historical significance on the way to progress in democratization in our country. But it has led to the phenomenon of mass buying of every

kind of goods on the market, under circumstances where necessary reserves that could fill gaps after the "buying fever" were unavailable, especially in the area of durable goods.

There is also the question of whether it was taken into consideration that with the implementation of the second alternative, e.g., a much smaller price increase, the government's compensation option would be adopted. (As we know, the government first proposed allowing compensation of 1,750 zloty for working families and 2,800 zloty for retirees and the disabled. As a result, after negotiations with the trade unions, the amount agreed upon was 6,000 zloty for everyone, plus 3,000 zloty for those with additional part time jobs.) And finally, was it taken into consideration that the general increase in prices would be higher than anticipated and very high for particular good and services (in the area of 100 percent), which despite compensation is generating intense pressure for a corresponding increase in wages and other income.

Without giving a direct answer to these questions, one can see on the basis of experience that the results proved to be different from those anticipated. Balance was not restored and the state of the market was not improved. Price structure (besides the price of coal) also did not experience a significant improvement. But inflation was raised to a high level. Price increases have already proved to be much higher than anticipated. It is estimated the increase may reach 66 percent on an annual basis (the plan provides for 45.5 percent), meaning that it would reach the level provided for in the radical price increase alternative, which was not approved in the referendum. Pressure for a compensatory increase in wages proved incomparably greater than expected and it has been difficult to suppress its vehemence. Moreover, May brought further exacerbation of the pressure for a compensatory wage increase, which brings the danger of a rise in inflation to the triple digit level.

So the start of the second stage of reform proved to be highly unfavorable. This was expressed mainly in the deterioration of the state of market imbalance and further tightening of the inflationary spiral.

Dangers

In the initial period of reform, after the price-income action in February 1982, the economy, while in a state of profound crisis, had the capacity for gradual and more visible improvement. (There were opportunities for greatly increasing the production of coal and other raw materials, thereby increasing exports and reinforcing production by way of imports.) Then the introduction of martial law moderated the force of vehement pressure for a compensatory wage increase. (Despite extremely high price increases of more than 100 percent, the average wage level rose by just over 50 percent.)

The difference in the present situation lies mainly in the fact that the economy does not have sufficient capacity for rapid mobilization of reserves that could, in a relatively short time, produce significant production results in the field of supplies of consumer goods (and improvement in housing construction). Actually, under pressure from public opinion, a revision to the five-year plan is planned, but it has not yet been approved. Assuming, however, that it will be introduced, it can no longer produce significant results in the first phase of the second stage of reform; the "investment harvests" associated with it to support the consumer goods market and exports would come later. This also affects other broadly conceived goals contained in the program for implementation of the second stage of reform; they are not in a position to improve the supply of consumer goods significantly in a relatively short time.

In this situation there is a real danger of maintaining a state of profound market imbalance, along with high, intensifying inflation. The goal concerning balancing the economy, making economic parameters realistic and thereby creating a field for more effective self-regulatory operation of reform mechanisms, cannot be implemented within the anticipated time frame; the "critical point" for achieving it is receding. This calls into question favorable implementation of the entire complex (main segments) of goals provided for in the program for implementation of the second stage of reform. Market imbalance, along with high inflation, will operate as it has up to now, paralyzing economic reform mechanisms and weakening or downright destroying all motivation and proefficiency tendencies, while the stakes for the development of initiative, to which so much weight has been attached in the second stage program, may prove to be inadequate.

What is no less important is that the burdensome situation of the "starving" market, along with high inflation that has persisted for some time (in this regard we are among the exceptions) and still persists, generates general discouragement and public dissatisfaction with reform. This is evidenced by tendencies toward mass emigration, the confrontational attitude of the young generation and the recent strikes. One might presume that the social and economic situation has taken on downright dramatic, alarming characteristics.

One might assume that the authorities are fully aware of this situation. The law on extraordinary powers for the Council of Ministers, recently passed by the Sejm, is evidence of this. Although it suggests the nature and direction of presumed actions, they have not yet been adequately defined. And time is flying.

What To Do?

The drama of this impending situation and the dangers associated with it are also based on the fact that for the first time economists do not have an idea, as can happen, of how to break this impasse. This is evidenced by the

lack of publications on this issue. This is shown by the last meeting of the Economic Advisory Council and its draft report, "Economic dangers and directions for action." The draft contains actual proposals that were submitted this past year. Besides general outlines, it does not indicate whether or how one can, in the present situation, mitigate to a more visible degree the state of market imbalance, control inflation, overcome obstacles to economic growth and loosen the noose of debt. Nor does this writer have distinct ideas on these issues; these comments merely have a quality indicative of the burning need for inquiries.

In this socially and economically dramatic situation, it is imperative to undertake attempts to mobilize potential reserves. Personally, I see two reserves of this kind. The first is reducing the debt burden. In renegotiations, it is necessary to present a condition whereby the interest rate on guaranteed credits would be significantly reduced. Loosening the noose of debt in this way could put a certain amount at the disposal of the economy. This would allow an increase in consumer goods and investment imports (for quickly profitable undertakings) and at the same time improve the supply of consumer goods and increase exports. (This is not only in our interest, but ultimately in the interest of our creditors as well.) And there should be no doubt that this would be an important factor in "getting out of the current well of imbalance and inflation." The second of these potential reserves is improving the supply of materials to producers of consumer goods, even by means of exploiting special powers. Perhaps this would require temporary limitation of supplies to other recipients, perhaps limitation of investment imports, establishing a different rate for hard currency reductions, etc. A situation like that of the first months of this year, when deliveries of industrial goods to the market increased at a rate two or even three times lower than total industrial products sold, is totally unacceptable.

Finally, the idea of more flexible use of all state reserves is worthy of consideration. This was done, for example, in 1956 and it produced visible results.

The financial and economic mechanisms that can stimulate market production will also require consideration and relatively quick decisions. The point is the possibility of increasing employment and flexibility wherever supplies of materials provide an opportunity for it. Without these or perhaps more far-reaching actions, the so-called prosupply inclination of the second stage of reform will be an empty slogan in the public consciousness, which will undermine public approval of the further process of reforming the economy.

The second area of counteraction that should be initiated without delay could be to contain the introduction of prices with balance for higher use durable goods. This concerns mainly goods that cannot in any way be counted among those for the "wastebasket" and for which demand significantly outstrips supply (even given

a substantial increase in it). Today sellers are generally gleaning the profit margin on this score, unceremoniously demanding a specified surcharge (i.e., 20,000 to 50,000 zloty for a color television, depending on the type of equipment). A change in price structure in this form should also affect goods of lesser public sensitivity for which, given their prices, demand is clearly higher than supply (a classic example of this might be the products of the E. Wedel Works). I need not add that the situation in market segments of this kind is atypical, that financial and pricing authorities, who have the instrument of the sales tax at their disposal, exhibit a perplexing indolence, that in such instances, following the example of other countries, we should be guided by the principle of "it may be expensive but it is there." (This proposal is also included in general form in the Economic Advisory Council's report.)

We should also look at the possibility of approaching balance by influencing demand, by decreasing the financial instability of enterprises. Perhaps on the example of the first year of reform (1982) we should temporarily introduce an anti-inflation tax; it should affect not only the entities of the socialized economy but all economic entities. (Art 3 of the law on extraordinary powers provides for the possibility of stabilizing taxes.) This proposal, like the following one, has its opponents, since it may hinder the motivation to undertake new or expand existing economic activity and so could hamper initiative. This can be partially counteracted through an appropriate credit policy.

We should also consider introducing a tax, also temporarily, on specific property items (luxury villas, pension, recreational land), as well as raising the tax rate on property transactions.

It is also worth considering all the pros and cons associated with floating a voluntary stabilizing loan. Floating dollar loans under attractive conditions could also come into play and on the basis of specific rules should be tied to concrete, rapidly profitable, proexport and promarket investments.

I am aware of the low popularity of these proposals and their weak sides. But the lack of progress in balancing the economy can force a wage and price freeze. (Art 2 of the law on extraordinary powers provides for such a possibility.) Even if the freeze were not absolute, allowing for the possibility of wage increases in a defined proportion to achieved results, and would not include traditional segments of the free market with established prices and supply and demand mechanisms (the fruit and vegetable market, etc.), it would still be a serious limitation of reform with all its negative consequences.

In the second phase of counteraction, e.g., in 1989, assuming the operation of at least some of the aforementioned efforts, reducing the rate of inflation to roughly 15 percent (not counting the results carried over from 1988) should be a general provision of economic policy, along

with further improvement in balancing the market situation. The basis for implementing this provision would be, on one hand, an increase in the supply of goods for the market (tied to the measures mentioned, a revision of the five-year plan and generally the operation of measures anticipated in the program for implementation of the second stage of reform and, on the other hand, slowing the rate of growth of the population's wages and other income.

At the same time, the main direction for these actions should be integrally tied to the entire range of anti-inflationary operations, including balancing the budget and many others to which, up to now, little attention has been paid (i.e., to the excessive growth of non-wage, non-material costs). (Incidentally, it should be said that after the fiasco of the anti-inflation program, it was as if we "threw up our hands" on this issue.)

The Need for Consensus

There have already been many programs and, unfortunately, they have been favorably implemented to a minor extent. So I do not opt for drafting yet another improvised government program to halt inflation and improve the stage of market imbalance. The point is to adopt a constructive set of actions of this kind and incorporate it. This does not mean that it does not require specific introduction and public acceptance (introducing it "quietly" seems to be doomed to failure in advance).

I am assuming that the effect of this action should become a common fact, assimilated by everyone, that in the present situation, pressure for increases in wages and other compensation and the related printing of money without backing could, as a result, only bring harm to anyone and everyone and make an already very difficult situation worse. Nevertheless, this is not enough.

The trade unions have already assimilated and mastered their defensive function; that is very good. But to the end of this year and next year, they should tone down their position, winning support for it from their members as well as those not affiliated.

All public organizations and institutions should, in the general interest, support acceptance of action designed to halt inflation and leveling the state of imbalance. Surely one can also rely on support from the Catholic Church and other religious organizations.

All of this cannot fail to be integrally tied to progress in democratization, to the sovereignty of the public at various levels, creating conditions for social and professional activity by all those who have the good of our economy and the socialist state "at heart."

And a final comment—working out directions and measures for breaking this impasse and winning public consensus in this matter requires a credible team of

specialists drafting and implementing economic policy. Without fully involved, capable and knowledgeable personnel, there is no point in counting on complete success in a given matter.

12776

Ecological Problems of Gulf of Gdansk, Baltic Sea Discussed

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[Interview with Gerard Kaptur, director, Committee for Environmental Protection of the Executive Board of the Voivodship League for Environmental Protection in Gdansk, by Pawel Wieczorek: "A Dead Sea"]

[Text]

[Question] For the residents of Upper Silesia, the Coast is a region associated with summer vacations; a health resort, a spa. But in Gdansk, especially when the wind blows from the port or the refinery, the air smells peculiarly of sulfur odors. Who is polluting the atmosphere of the Tri-Cities the most?

[Answer] The power and heat generating plants. EC-2 in Gdansk, EC-3 in Gdynia. The old power plant Olowianka, then the Gdansk Phosphorous Fertilizer Plant, which emits significant quantities of sulfur dioxide, especially during the frequent breakdowns, and the Gdansk refinery. The boilers, bakeries, and private chimneys, for the sulfur content of our coal is surprisingly high. Even the nationally known spa Sopot cannot obtain better fuel.

[Question] You did not mention the infamous Siarkopol.

[Answer] Crushed sulfur is a completely different problem; it is a rapidly falling dust, and the area immediately around Siarkopol is yellow. It is horrible that this enterprise is surrounded on two sides by a unique monument of the zero class, the Wislouscie Tower, which can be saved today only with a glass bell jar. Or by the elimination of Siarkopol.

[Question] How do the oceanside bathing areas look today? The newspapers prior to the bathing season usually print a laconic note about where it is possible to swim. In Gdansk, these announcements usually mention the beaches of the Hel Peninsula and the Gulf of Gdansk, Sopot and Stogi. Can these announcements be trusted?

[Answer] According to data from the voivodship office in Gdansk, bacteriological studies show that there is not a single meter of beach on the Western bank of the Gulf of Gdansk that is always safe. While the beaches at Stogi occasionally have pure water truly of the first class, in Sopot you will never find it, and second class water occurs sporadically, about 10 percent of the time. The remaining 90 percent of the time, the water is third class,

which is not suitable for recreation, or non-class water, which does not meet any reasonable standards. Nevertheless, the beach in Sopot is available. It is worth knowing that there is no method that would allow us to determine on a current basis whether the water is clean, for bacteriological studies last about 24 hours from the collection of the sample.

[Question] In other words, swimming there, we do not know what we are getting into.

[Answer] Obviously not. We know only that at our own risk we are going into the devils mouth.

[Question] What caused such significant pollution of the coastal waters?

[Answer] It is not just pollution. We distinguish three forms of degradation in the gulf. First, there is pollution by chemical compounds that have gotten into the ocean water through the Wisla and from the industries of the Tri-Cities, through sewers and from the atmosphere. The second form of pollution is eutrophication or fertilization of the waters. Here the chief source of the pollution is the city sewer system and water washed from excessively fertilized fields, containing biogenic substances. They cause the excessive development of algae—unfortunately types that are not suitable for fish, blue-green algae. These algae during their period of vegetation excrete compounds harmful to man. Our forbearers knew well that when "the water blooms," you cannot swim.

[Question] And when does the water bloom in the gulf?

[Answer] When it gets warm. During the vacation season it usually blooms. The third type of pollution is bacteriological pollution, which is the most dangerous for us. About 90 percent of the pollution arises in the Tri-Cities area because none of our sewage treatment plants disinfects sewage. Nearly 10 percent is brought by the Wisla. It seems like it ought to be more, but in the chemically polluted waters of the Wisla even bacteria cannot grow. A small part of 1 percent of the bacterial pollution comes from the ships that come to our ports. This small category of sewage causes the greatest potential danger because it can contain pathogenic bacteria from other climatic zones that could cause an epidemic.

[Question] Should you not mention a fourth form of degradation in the gulf: pollution by crude oil products?

[Answer] Yes, this is a separate question. The Gulf of Gdansk is constantly covered by a thin layer of petroleum derivatives that cuts off the flow of oxygen into the water. This raises the specter of a complete destruction of biological life in the polluted waters. In spite of appearances, this oil does not always come from ships; about half comes from land. It is not the result of

spectacular accidents, but rather of systematic small leaks of fuels and oil. It suffices to look at what runs off the roads into the drains after a large rain.

[Question] What might the consequences of swimming in a polluted place be?

[Answer] The presence of blue-green algae can cause inflammation of the epidermis, eczema, allergy. Bacterial pollution usually consists of salmonella or other bacteria that cause infections of the digestive tract. During the summer, the bacillus of blue pus, the bacteria responsible for gangrene, is present. The slightest pollution becomes dangerous then. There is the very dangerous vaginal trichomonad, especially for small girls, a protozoan that occurs in massive quantities in the coastal waters of the Gulf of Gdansk. It attacks the reproductive organs. Care should be exercised in taking summer camp groups to the water! In what we used to call water, there are viruses that cause inflammation of the middle ear and flu. Going bare foot on the wet sand of the beach can lead to mycosis. An unusually vicious variety of fungus has recently appeared, for which it is difficult to find a remedy in Poland.

[Question] Things do not look good. What is going to happen later? To be sure there was a great delay, but the Council of State has ratified the so-called Helsinki Convention on the protection of the ocean environment in the Baltic. How is its practical implementation in Poland going?

[Answer] The practical effects of the ratification should appear particularly in the adoption of the appropriate legal act that would make the provisions of the Helsinki Convention part of the domestic national regulations. A proposal for such a law has been in preparation since 1977.

[Question] A trifle, 11 years!

[Answer] It is difficult even now to say when the law will see the light of day. Eleven years is a period that can chill any amount of enthusiasm. As a result, the Helsinki Convention is binding on Poland, but it is not binding in Poland, for it has not been legally introduced into the Polish legal system. As long as there is no resolution at the legislative level, it is difficult to speak of any sensible organizational undertakings in the protection of the ocean environment.

[Question] Who then is responsible for the condition of the coastal waters?

[Answer] According to the Water Law of 1974, the five voivodships along the coast are responsible for the purity of the territorial waters of the PRL. Obviously at sea there is no boundary between the voivodships; thus

responsibility dissolves. Moreover, no standards have been set as yet for sewage dumped directly into the sea. It is difficult to imagine that the voivods are responsible for economic activity conducted at sea, and thus for the operations of the ports and fleets. This is another gap in the regulations.

[Question] I was impressed by your collection of photographs documenting the degradation of the waters of the Baltic. You have caught many polluters, large and small, in the act in your lens. Has this noble passion produced any measurable effects?

[Answer] Oh, from time to time I can show these photographs to people, who are intensely interested in these issues. Sometimes on the basis of my photographic evidence the case of a polluter is sent to a collegium that can impose a fine of up to 30,000 zloty. This is an open travesty, especially if the pollution is caused by a ship under a foreign flag. Where else in the world is the lowest penalty in such a situation \$5,000.

[Question] The penalties are surely symbolic. But is anyone punished at all? For example, is the Maritime Office capable of discovering polluters in the ports and at sea?

[Answer] In the port during the day, yes. Each wharf has its boss who watches the order on the dock. Given good visibility, good effective visual control is possible. What happens at night, no one knows. A polluter in port, if he is caught, must remove the damage at his own expense, and these sums are many times higher than the symbolic 30,000. Outside of the port, special units of the Maritime Office, so-called controllers, patrol the coastal zone. On the open sea, they use helicopters and planes for patrolling. Unfortunately, all of this is effective only during the day, because equipment to detect pollution at night and under limited visibility was not purchased. And even if they catch the polluter, it is not always possible to gather sufficient evidence, the appropriate equipment is lacking.

[Question] Taking the current rate of increasing pollution and the state of protective action, what do you think our chances are? Will we resuscitate the Baltic before it becomes a second Dead Sea?

[Answer] Surely not. The lower, bottom layer of the Baltic is already largely a dead layer. That is not a minor thing, it consists of about 120,000 km² of ecological desert! In order to resuscitate the Baltic, we would have to immediately, today remove all of the sources of pollution, and then wait 40 years. Only then would the Baltic have a chance at rebirth.

POLAND

Student Labor Apprenticeships, Preparatory Courses Criticized

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[Interview with Prof Marek Wierzbowski, assistant rector of Warsaw University, by Janina Paradowska]

[Text]

[Question] Student labor apprenticeships and exam preparatory courses—these are two big campaigns that from mid-June to the beginning of the academic year pour over the walls of institutions of higher learning. Proposals that something be finally done about them or that they be centrally eliminated (the most frequent proposal) or that the decision in this matter be left to the institutions themselves return every year with increasingly greater force.

[Answer] And without results in the form of concrete decisions. This year, we are again organizing labor apprenticeships and courses without being convinced of their purposefulness. We simply have to. Two ordinances continue to be in force in this matter. One has been issued by the Council of Ministers and the second signed by the former Ministry of Science and Higher Education, and by the Ministry of Education. They have to be carried out.

[Question] Let us begin with the SPR's [Student Labor Apprenticeships]. The proposal of eliminating them is widespread.

[Answer] Particularly in universities because it is possible that in other institutions of higher learning the issue appears somewhat differently. In their present form, student labor apprenticeships are simply means of supplying cheap labor to work establishments which particularly during the summer months have problems with worker shortages. The purpose of an institution of higher learning is to learn and not to compel one to perform simple physical labor. Young people are in general protesting against SPR's and this includes both students from the ZSP and from the self-government.

[Question] And what about the concept of educating through work?

[Answer] The SPR's are more of a discredit to this concept. Forcing students to work does not bring any educational results. At times, it may even be said that this is demoralizing because who possibly can, tries to find ways of avoiding this apprenticeship. Furthermore, I feel that in this day and age, furthering the cult of a shovel and common physical exertion is an anachronistic misunderstanding. We are supposed to be training for a modern world and not to swing shovels. The obstinate upholding of a cult for common physical labor leads to

the debasement of mental work. In addition, this occurs prior to entering the university or college. In other words, we are trying to instill something totally opposite to what we should in our students at the very outset.

[Question] How many people will be "educated" in this way by Warsaw University during summer vacation and where?

[Answer] About 1,500 in Pollena, the FSO [Automobile Factory] and the health services.

[Question] All of these enterprises and institutions really do need workers.

[Answer] Very much so. There is an overabundance of job offers and I feel that those who want to work can and should do so of their own free will, without the university as a job go-between and without lodging in student dormitories for we have already come to an absolutely paradoxical situation: we are renting quarters in the dormitories of the Warsaw Institute of Technology for our institution's guests and foreign students. In addition, there is no time whatsoever for summer vacation repairs. Once the academic year is over, preparatory courses begin and following that we give lodging to candidates who are taking their entrance exams. After this, labor apprenticeships begin and following these, the fall session again and the beginning of the new academic year. No facility, even if it is in excellent technical condition, can endure this. Our buildings are not in good shape. What's more, after the courses end, the rooms are frequently downright devastated. The damage is greater than after the entire academic year.

[Question] After 2 weeks?

[Answer] Yes, after 2 weeks. The young people who come for the courses do not identify themselves with the institution; they do not feel that it is their student dormitory; that they will live in it in the future.

Before we go on to the preparatory courses, a few more words about the labor apprenticeships. When they were being reinstated 2 years ago, various arguments were used. Among these was the one that if we were successful in organizing the work in such a way that it would be performed for the benefit of the learning institution, it would have an additional educational aspect—an early bond with the institution and the formation of respect for common property. Warsaw University has a great number of needs if only those associated with repairs. Can those accepted to the first year of studies not be employed in greater number to assist in this kind of work?

Last year, students worked in the Botanical Gardens and actually that is all that we can offer them on the university premises. We need skilled workmen to do the

repairs; simple physical labor is carried out by members of our own work crews. We do not need entire teams to do simple physical work. We do need qualified workers.

[Question] Do you not see any arguments in favor of the student labor apprenticeships?

[Answer] In its present form—no. On the other hand, if an offered job were to have some connection to a future profession and would constitute additional verification of whether the young people have chosen the right course of studies, then this would have made sense. If it were possible to send candidates for education careers to schools for 4 weeks in order for them to become acquainted with at least the school atmosphere—one that is different from a student's point of view—it would be beneficial. However, schools do not have the money to employ students and they also do not have that much work for them. Undoubtedly, a number of reasons may be found in favor of these apprenticeships for those beginning their studies in medical academies and in many technical institutes. Therefore, they should not be centrally eliminated as they were centrally created without regard for the specificity of the institution of higher learning. I believe that decisions should be made in the institutions based on their needs and possibilities.

At Warsaw University, for example, the maintaining of the SPR's in its current form appears to me to be purposeful only for students studying economics and management fields. It is useful for future managers to take a look at an enterprise's management from the worker's standpoint but this is not needed for a physicist or student of Japanese philology.

[Question] The Ministry of Education is declaring its flexibility. Recently, its representative stated on television: "Who can organize the apprenticeships should do so and those who cannot do not have to."

[Answer] Regulations obligate one to conduct certain activity and not statements made on TV. Therefore, the introduction of flexible regulations should follow in the footsteps of these statements.

[Question] In our discussion, we have already touched upon the second operation, i.e., preparatory courses. Several years of experience (usually not the best) and the courses continue to be organized.

[Answer] I shall immediately add to this—while spending huge sums of money from the institution's [college, university, etc] meager budget and disorganizing the academic year. After all, we have to end our regular classes earlier and shorten sessions in order to force our students to leave their dormitories needed for the preparatory course participants.

[Question] Is this worth the trouble? Do the course participants do better on the entrance examinations?

[Answer] There is no correlation between participation in the course and the outcome of entrance examinations. In any case, it is difficult to expect it. It is impossible to make up for shortcomings in education from secondary school in a matter of 2 weeks and there is no sense in deluding oneself that this is not so. There is no sense in pretending that in this way we are offering assistance to young people from rural areas or small towns. They will receive real assistance when the educational system at lower levels improves and when there will be an increasing number of good secondary boarding schools.

[Question] Aside from tuition-free courses, there is a growing number of paid courses provided by various organizations.

[Answer] And they serve mainly to appease the conscience of parents. We have paid and done everything possible for our child. But there is no benefit from these courses whatsoever. It's the same game of pretense as the tuition-free courses. Of course, no one can prevent anyone from financing extra private lessons for their child. Our experience with entrance examinations clearly shows that there is no benefit to these courses. That is why I believe that it is downright immoral to finance useless lessons from the state budget. When there is little money, it should be allocated only for that which can really produce results. On the other hand, only improvement in the educational system at lower levels can bring results.

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